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The Week

THE Far Eastern situation has continued during the past week to be the most important development in the foreign news. While the details of what has happened are shrouded in mystery, there seems no doubt that the Nanking government has surrendered to Tokyo at every point. Great Britain and the United States are conducting conversations over the problems in the Orient, with the British apparently seeking to persuade the Americans to joint action of a more serious character than our government is prepared to undertake—especially since the British interests in the Far East are so enormously greater than our own. Meanwhile, Germany and Great Britain have come to a naval understanding which, while it has been bitterly protested by the French, seems likely to stand. The Germans have agreed to a fleet 35 percent as large as the British, by categories. This will prevent Germany from creating a huge strength in submarines, and will also prevent an expansion in any other type of vessel that would imperil British supremacy.

AMONG the week's items of good news is the tentative settlement of the war in South America—a settlement, however, that justifies little optimism regarding peace machinery, since it was chiefly the result of exhaustion after three years of fighting, and a virtual victory of Paraguay over Bolivia. In Mexico, Calles has lost his position as the power behind the throne. The reorganized Cardenas government will be somewhat farther to the Left and may at the same time conciliate the Catholic Church and thus end a situation that has come dangerously near to causing a new revolution. In France, the new Laval government will continue to struggle with economic difficulties that can be solved only by measures which its supporters are not prepared to take. Tension between England and Italy over Ethiopia remains serious, as the Italian government "tightens its belt" by the usual measures: all silver money has been called in and the press censorship has been strengthened. An American correspondent, David Darrah of The Chicago Tribune, has been deported and The New York Times, of all papers, has been forbidden to circulate in Italy because of an editorial that merely hinted, as many other journals have done, at serious disaffection among the Italians regarding Mussolini's present policy. What might be called the first casualties in the next European war have been reported from Wittenberg, Germany, where a munitions factory exploded. The German government admits fifty-two deaths and everyone else believes that the number was one thousand or more.

CONGRESS continued to hold the center of the stage in the field of domestic affairs during the past week. Despite Huey Long's dramatic fifteen-and-one-half-hour filibuster, the Senate passed the new N.R.A. legislation continuing the organization in skeleton form, primarily as a fact-finding body. With this out of the way, the Roosevelt forces are driving ahead on the program of "must" legislation. As we go to press, the social-security bill is reported on the eve of passing the Senate in substantially the same form adopted some weeks ago by the House. While the measure is open to the gravest possible objections, it does make a beginning at unemployment insurance and old-age secur-

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ity, and thereby obtains some historical significance. The Guffey bill for partial rationalization of the coal industry is next on the list, President Roosevelt having obtained a postponement of the threatened soft-coal strike on the promise that the bill would go through. It is, indeed, an open secret that the strike was more or less a conspiracy between mine owners and miners to force congressional action. The Wagner labor disputes bill, the holding-company bill and the amendments to the A.A.A. are next in order.

TWO other important strikes were also prominent in the news. In Toledo, the electrical workers agreed after four days to a settlement under which they seemed sure to get a five-percent increase in wages, and the question of an additional 15 percent increase will be left to a three-man arbitration board. In Omaha, Nebraska, Governor R. L. Cochran ordered all trolley cars off the streets after the local transit company had refused to accept his proposal of arbitration in a strike that had lasted two months and resulted in riots leading to the death of one man and injuries to a hundred more. Twelve important figures in the world of communications were told by the government that they may hold positions in not more than one company each. Two great advances must be noted in regard to birth control. The General Federation of Women's Clubs has at last voted in favor of the dissemination of scientific material through the mails, and the American Medical Association, whose point of view is in general so reactionary, authorized an investigation and report on this subject, after refusing to do so at four successive annual conferences.

WHAT may prove the most serious scandal of the Roosevelt administration has been uncovered in charges made by E. Y. Mitchell, forcibly removed as Assistant Secretary of Commerce by President Roosevelt last Saturday. Mitchell charges widespread graft and corruption in the department and specifically blames the situation there for the loss of life in the "Morro Castle" disaster and the Missouri airplane crash which took several lives including that of Senator Bronson Cutting. From California comes what may turn out to be the week's best news—notice that the State Supreme Court has granted a writ of habeas corpus to Tom Mooney. The state must now show cause for continuing to hold Mooney in prison, and the issue will be whether there was a conspiracy, based on perjured testimony and participated in by state officials, to convict Mooney and to keep him in prison after his conviction. Since everyone knows that perjured testimony was employed, and was in fact the sole basis for conviction of Mooney and Billings, there is now a definite, clear-cut chance that these two famous defendants at last may be set free. Such a chance is based on the assumption that a really unbiased hearing can and will be held in California. The fear, based on past performances, is that the California courts may go through the formalities of a hearing and gravely pretend to find that the trial proceedings were strictly regular, with no evidence of perjury, and that the defendants were duly and justly convicted. Such a finding would tend to make the case very difficult to reopen, and thus what now seems a significant victory for Mooney eventually may turn out to be a defeat. In this sense it is the court system of California that is really on trial. The present granting of the habeas-corpus writ follows the lines broadly hinted at by the United States Supreme Court a few weeks ago when, in effect, it promised that if the California courts did not take action in the Mooney case, it was prepared to do so.

ACCORDING to a new Brookings Institution study of the agricultural program, the crop-reduction policy, though immediately successful to at least some degree, with variations according to the crop, is not a safe or satisfactory permanent policy. Wheat farmers have obtained some price benefit from it, though still more from the drought and other factors. Consumers (including other farmers) have paid out more for wheat than the growers have gained. Tobacco growers have benefited, not at the expense of consumers but at the expense of the profits of manufacturers. These profits, it may be parenthetically stated, were plenty large enough to stand the drain. The Brookings report, however, points out that there is an ultimate political and economic danger in this sort of program because, like the tariff, it makes occupational groups special beneficiaries of government policy and leads them to form alliances resulting in all-round subsidies and restriction of output. Almost at the same time, the annual report of the A.A.A. warns the farmers that restricted production has only a limited value and that emphasis will not be placed upon it in the future. Price parity has not yet been gained except in a few instances. The next necessity, for the benefit of farmers themselves, is "increased activity, income and purchasing power of industrial groups." Price parity may involve reduction of industrial prices. This conclusion is sound, and is of even greater importance to the industrial population than it is to the farmers. So far, the administration has devised no effective means of bringing it about.

NEWS that at the critical moment the United States helped France to save her gold standard has produced mixed feelings. The Treasury, it seems, performed this kindly act by selling dollars for French gold. Naturally enough, the higher the price of the dollar in relation to the franc, the lower was the exchange value of the franc and the more danger existed to the gold standard. And also, naturally enough, when the purchase of dollars with francs had reduced the available supply of dollar exchange to such a low mark that the rising price of the dollar threatened to get out of hand,

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our Treasury could help by throwing more dollars on the market. This action was a good one if we contemplate the possibility of going back to gold at the present exchange ratios. This would give both the sterling bloc and the United States an advantage over the gold bloc in international trade. But would this situation be permanent? The British experts do not think so; that is the reason they will not agree to stabilize on this basis. They are satisfied with the present ratio between the pound and the franc, but not with the ratio between the pound and the dollar or with that between the franc and the dollar. They think that France suffers so much disadvantage in her exports that eventually she must go off gold, unless the dollar goes back to gold at a higher parity, or unless prices in this country rise considerably. According to their view, Secretary Morgenthau has simply kept the ultimately necessary decision in suspense.

STRANGE are the workings of the academic mind. When Granville Hicks, who happens to be an avowed Communist as well as a brilliant author and literary critic, was recently dismissed from his post as assistant professor of English at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, the official reason given was the necessity for "retrenchment." The administration stubbornly clung to this position even when it was shown that the salary of the instructor to replace Professor Hicks, plus the half-year's salary awarded to Hicks in lieu of the usual courtesy of twelve months' notice, would cause a net increase of $500 in the year's expenses. With the coming of commencement time, however, Acting President Edwin S. Jarrett appeared before the General Alumni Association with a totally different explanation. "We adhere to an unwritten regulation of long standing," declaimed the Acting President, "that there shall be excluded from our classrooms all controversial discussion about politics, religion and sociology. . . . We were founded by a capitalist of the old days. We have developed and prospered under the capitalistic regime. The men we have sent forth and who have become industrial leaders have, in their generosity, richly endowed us." These sonorous periods at least have the virtue of outlining a logically defensible position. But in taking it, the Institute should renounce in words, as it has in fact, all claim to liberalism and academic freedom at Rensselaer. The raw material on which the present anti-Red hysteria in our colleges feeds itself is shown by the vote of the alumni association to approve the action and policies of the administration. Something of the effect of this kind of pressure on student opinion is shown by the action of The Rensselaer Polytechnic, the undergraduate newspaper, which meekly apologized for its previous editorial support of Professor Hicks and announced a reorganization of the editorial board, working out "with the assistance of Acting President Jarrett . . . a plan for making The Polytechnic what it should be."

THE first public sittings of the Royal Commission on the Private Manufacture of and Trading in Arms (the British arms inquiry) were held in London in May. During one session Mr. W. Arnold-Forster, on behalf of the National Peace Council, declared that Sir John Gilmour, then Home Secretary, and Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, then Colonial Secretary, were stockholders in the armament firm of Vickers. On the following day Mr. Harry Pollitt, representing the Communist Party of Great Britain, charged that Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Prince Arthur of Connaught, cousin of King George; the Bishop of St. Andrews; and Sir John Eldon Bankes, chairman of the very commission holding the inquiry, owned shares of stock in Vickers and in other companies making war material. This testimony was duly published in New York newspapers. But the influential and respected London Times refused to touch it except after careful editing. Mr. Arnold-Forster's remarks were relegated to the tail-end of the news story. His specific mention of Cabinet officers was not even alluded to, and the place of emphasis in the story was accorded to the observations of Sir Eustace Tennyson-d'Eyncourt, consulting engineer and adviser to Vickers, which were of course favorable to private arms manufacturers. Mr. Pollitt's charges, as well, were handled with extreme reserve. Couched in general terms, they appeared in Major Astor's newspaper somewhere near the bottom of a column, with no reference whatsoever to the fact that the witness had placed members of the Cabinet, the royal family, the Church and the investigating committee itself in a position which must be called, at the very least, embarrassing.

AN INTERESTING scheme for the reconstruction of Puerto Rico, known as the Chardon plan, is now before Mr. Roosevelt for approval. It proposes that the benefit payments that Puerto Rico will receive for sugar reduction be used to buy the rich sugar *colonias* owned by United States corporations. These *colonias* are then to be exchanged for the less fertile lands owned by Puerto Rican cane growers, which in turn are to be given over to subsistence farmers. It is estimated that the benefit payments due Puerto Rico during the next three years will be sufficient to move twelve hundred cane growers upon *colonias* now owned by United States corporations, and to provide land for from 7,000 to 14,000 small farmers. The strongest weapon that Puerto Rico has with which to force the expulsion of the corporations, however, is an unused law providing that no single corporation or individual shall hold more than 500 acres. Recently the Puerto Rican legislature adjourned without passing the usual appropriation bills, and it is alleged that this legislative strike was instigated among reactionary deputies by agents of the corporations, partly to prevent the 500-acre law from being enforced, and partly to discredit the advocates of the Chardon plan, who are now in Washington. It is

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also reported that the corporations have endeavored to bring direct pressure upon Congress and the White House.

A NEW low in relief practices is reported from Oregon, where the transient relief program has been developed into an effective means of reducing relief rolls. Federal work-relief camps, providing subsistence and a dollar a week pocket money in return for thirty hours' work at road construction, fire-trail building and other labor, established ostensibly as a rehabilitation measure for the roving jobless, are in that state being used as a solution to the relief problem of the unmarried unemployed. Jobless single men are encouraged to enter the camps by the simple expedient of striking them from direct and work-relief rolls, the relief recipient then being given his choice between going to a subsistence shelter camp or going hungry. Men of all ages—from youths of fourteen years to old men of seventy-five—make up the population of these work projects, thirteen of them having been established in that one state, each camp sheltering from 200 to 500 men. The issue has become one of the major bones of contention among the unemployed, with organized labor also protesting.

Death to Utility Holding Companies

HIGH ON the President's must list of legislation is, as we write, the Wheeler-Rayburn bill to put an end to public-utility holding companies —with certain exceptions. The proscribed companies may either dissolve, unscrambling and distributing their assets to the investors by some financial device, or become investment trusts pure and simple, exercising no control over the subordinate operating companies and performing no "services" for them. This must be accomplished by 1940; thus five years' grace is granted. If, then, a further time allowance is found to be justified, the Power Commission can postpone the limit to 1942.

Excepted from this death sentence are holding companies whose subsidiaries are entirely within one state, and holding companies whose subsidiaries, though in two or more states, are within an integrated territory. The Power Commission is given authority to interpret this exemption. The bill also provides for federal regulation of the prices for power or services sold across state lines. This applies to all companies. No such regulation now exists.

The case against the holding companies has been elaborated many times and in great detail—by independent economic authorities, by the report of the Federal Trade Commission and, more recently, by supporters of the bill in Congress, such as Senators Wheeler and Norris. The unanimous verdict of the competent and independent observers is that most of these companies perform no essential public service, that they are breeding grounds of the worst financial chicanery the country has ever seen, that they are a source of corruption to education and politics, that, while often yielding exorbitant profit to their promoters and manipulators, they have cheated investors and added unnecessarily to the burden of the consumers of electric current.

It would take an encyclopedia to explain in detail and with full supporting evidence why this is so; but why it must be so may readily be seen by anyone who knows the more general facts about the set-up and operations of these companies. The very complexity of the system, with company upon company in many layers, makes malpractice easy in a number of ways. One example, not exceptional, cited by Senator Norris, begins with Portland, Maine. The Cumberland County Power and Light Company, which supplies that city, is owned by the New England Finance and Investment Company, which is owned by the New England Public Service Company, which is owned by the Middle West Utilities Company (incorporated in Delaware), which is owned by the Corporation Securities Company (incorporated in Illinois), which is owned by the Corporation Utilities Company and the Insull Utilities Company, both of which are owned by the Insull family. This traces the family tree only from one twig down to the trunk. If we start with the trunk and branch out, we find, according to Senator Norris' figures, that the Insull group controlled two superholding, two holding and twenty-seven subsidiary companies, which in turn controlled two hundred and fifty-three operating companies. Of the operating companies, thirty-eight owned sixty-seven other operating companies. The local companies were scattered all over the map, serving 3,588,000 consumers in 5,931 communities in 32 states. This was by no means the largest of the utility empires.

Naturally, this concentration of ownership or control is not a simple process. The Insulls did not own more than a small part of all the securities in the several companies. They had not put in much of the money to supply consumers with electricity. On the other hand, most of the real investors have no power in the government of the companies. Either they own securities like bonds or preferred stocks that carry no voting power, or, as scattered and small holders of voting stock, confronted by such a gigantic and intricate affair, they can do nothing but surrender their proxies to the controlling powers. Thus, the holding-company device is a way to concentrate control without supplying more than a small proportion of the capital.

Profits to those on the inside of such a system come from two sources. One is the manufacture and sale of securities to the public. Operating companies are bought, often at exorbitant prices. On the basis of these assets, and also of engineering write-ups of properties already owned, new securities are issued and sold. Money is thus collected

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from the public to pay for the water pumped into the system, plus handsome capital gains to insiders.

The other source of profits to insiders occurs if the consumers are charged enough to validate the water. The earnings accruing to common stock are pyramided from company to company. Let us imagine, to make the case simple, that the "investment" of an operating company is represented 75 percent by bonds paying 5 percent, and 25 percent by common stock. Let us then imagine that the company clears 8 percent on its total "investment." After paying the bond interest there will be enough profit left to yield 21 percent on the stock. But this stock is all owned by a holding company, which in turn has sold 5-percent bonds to the extent of 75 percent of its "investment." The remaining income after this interest is paid will yield 77 percent on its stock. With every step up the ladder the gains on the stock are thus pyramided, until you reach the financial genius behind the whole scheme, who makes a princely fortune on a relatively small cash sacrifice. That such profits have in many cases been "reinvested" to extend the structure almost as rapidly as they were received does not change the amazing nature of the trick.

The reverse side of the shield is that if the earnings of the operating companies decrease by even a slight percentage, the earnings of the pyramided holding companies decrease in as rapid a ratio as they rose. In that case the outside owners of holding-company bonds, whose "securities" represent no tangible property, but only the promise of a small fixed return from a highly speculative equity, are likely to lose their savings.

Another practice of holding companies by which consumers are milked is the charging of sums for engineering and other "services" to the operating companies. Profits made from such charges across state lines are not legally subject to regulation by state commissions; nevertheless they show up in the consumers' bills. In such a network of companies, it is easy to shift about all kinds of charges so that those parts of the system subject to local regulation shall not appear too profitable, while the profits show up in the unregulated parts.

Those with such large interests at stake are, naturally enough, active propagandists in their own behalf; their propaganda has shown up throughout the country in schools and colleges, in newspapers and legislatures, in the mail of anyone with influence. On numerous occasions the propaganda has broken over into academic and political corruption. In any case it is not a healthy influence on the national life.

A small but striking instance of this complex of profits and politics is cited in Senator Norris' speech. The Nebraska Power Company is incorporated, strangely enough, in the state of Maine. It is owned by the Electric Bond and Share Company of New York, which manages it through the medium of a law firm in Augusta, Maine. Apparently to mask this situation, the owning company selected some prominent people in Nebraska as directors of the Nebraska company. It sold them stock at 50 cents a share, agreeing to buy it back at $1.50. Dividends were received by the local directors at a rate of about 250 percent on their investment. One of these gentlemen was Walter Head, who, in addition to being a leading banker and business man, was the teacher of the largest Sunday-school class in the state, head of the Boy Scouts of America—and treasurer of the Republican State Committee. Mr. Head contributed largely to the campaign conducted by one Victor Seymour against Senator Norris, a campaign that included running a bogus Norris in the primaries. Testifying later before the Nye Committee, Victor Seymour committed perjury and is now serving a term in prison. Mr. Head, Mr. Seymour's financial backer, still retains his position with the Boy Scouts.

The defense of the holding companies, so far as it is anything but a deceitful appeal to prejudice, is that their activities bring together the operating companies into interconnected systems, thus increasing efficiency, that they help to supply needed capital, that by diversifying utility investments geographically they stabilize returns to the investor, and that they furnish valuable management and other services. With a few possible exceptions, there is nothing in the interconnection argument, and these exceptions are allowed for in the bill. Most of the systems are composed of scattered units, without regard to engineering or management considerations. Good local companies would have no difficulty in obtaining capital even if they were independent. The diversification argument is largely absurd in view of the actual results, and in any case it could be taken care of by turning the holding companies into investment trusts, as the bill permits. Whatever services are needed by the operating companies can be and should be bought in the open market, not from an owning corporation.

The holding-company promoters are most effective in argument when they hide behind the "widows and orphans" who have bought their issues. Will the government wantonly destroy the savings of these innocents? The answer is that in so far as the investments are not good on the basis of reasonable prices to the consumer, the fault is that of the promoters and the trusting innocents themselves. Much of the loss is unavoidable in any case. In so far as the investments do represent any honest value, they will not suffer in the dissolution process. Vastly more important than those who may now lose something are the future widows and orphans who might be cheated by the same game if it is not stopped, the millions of consumers who are not investors, and the public interest in honesty.

We hope the Wheeler-Rayburn bill passes and accomplishes its intended result. We are skeptical, however, about the outcome. Interests of this kind are resourceful and cunning; they outlive the wave of reform. They will fight in the courts; they may obtain decisions that the law is unconstitutional;

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they will try to elect a friendly administration in order to control the regulators; they will bring pressure on Congress to amend or repeal the law before 1940; if the law stands they will assume as many forms as the old man of the sea in order to wriggle out of its clutches. The energy used in drafting, passing and trying to enforce regulation of this sort would obtain surer results in the long run if it were devoted to the abolition of private ownership in power production.

Japan Devours China

AS JAPAN moves into north China, a new stage in its sustained drive for Far Eastern hegemony begins. Its callous disregard for the rights of other nations, worthy of comparison with the worst excesses of Western imperialism, no longer excites wonder. The only questions to be asked are: How far has the drive gone this time? What is its immediate and potential significance?

For the first, it must be recognized that effective political control in north China has passed into Japanese hands. The Nanking regime is withdrawing all government troops from the Peiping-Tientsin area. Chinese officials to whom Japan objected have resigned, outstanding among them being General Yu Hsueh-chung, Governor of Hopei Province. The Kuomintang branch organs in the North have been dissolved. In the discussions of the moment, apart from the larger issues, the Nanking government is learning what official personnel Japan will approve for the Peiping-Tientsin area.

Another factor of immediate importance is the fate of Chahar, strategic province of Inner Mongolia. The two main caravan routes between Peiping and Urga, capital of Outer Mongolia, pass through Chahar Province. Their junction point is just north of Kalgan, a large trading center—joined to Peiping by rail—in southern Chahar. For some months a Japanese military mission has been stationed at Kalgan, and now an airdrome has been built there. Japanese aviation bases are also reported in the Mongol territory of Chahar, to the west of Dolonor. Finally, on last reports, the Chinese Governor Sung Cheh-yuan is being browbeaten into submission. It may be taken for granted that Chahar will henceforth be Japanese-controlled, marking another stride in Japan's war preparations against the Soviet Union.

As Nanking begins to meet Japan's broader demands, which seem to be still in the process of formulation, the status of Chiang Kai-shek's relationship to the Japanese should become much more sharply defined. Since the Tangku truce of two years ago, Chiang has increasingly emerged as the tool through which Japan's military and diplomatic leaders have been enforcing Japanese primacy in China. Wherever possible, a decent aura of secrecy was thrown about the process. The refunding of a half-dozen or so of the "Nishihara" loans was hardly mentioned, though the resumption of postal communications with "Manchukuo" could not be concealed. Wholesale arrests of anti-Japanese students and teachers and the suppression of anti-Japanese boycotts, newspapers and demonstrations proceeded as circumspectly as possible. For reasons now fairly obvious, it turned out that the Tangku truce required the continual adjustment of innumerable details. Former members of the pro-Japanese Anfu clique were resurrected to handle such matters, but a veil was thrown over their constant scurryings between Peiping, Tientsin, Tokyo, Hsinking, Shanghai and Nanking.

In the present crisis the censorship imposed on the north China vernacular newspapers and the efforts to keep the Chinese troops from realizing the ignominy of their withdrawal have limned Chiang Kai-shek's role even more sharply. Hereafter, we may expect to see Japanese military advisers on Chiang Kai-shek's staff, large-scale Japanese financial assistance to the Nanking regime, much more pronounced Chinese tariff favors to Japan, a series of Sino-Japanese railway and airline projects, and industrial concessions of various types let out to Japanese companies. While the Japanese diplomats and business men take care of the economic and financial details of their conquest, the Japanese military will continue to concern themselves with the strictly territorial and administrative aspects. At present the military are busy setting up a "buffer state" including Hopei and Chahar Provinces. In the near future this must necessarily take in Shantung and Shansi Provinces, bringing its borders to the Yellow River. The next steps will take Japanese arms further into Inner Mongolia and south into central China.

An Anglo-American stand might halt the advance of this Japanese juggernaut, but only at grave risk. The Soviet Union will maintain absolute neutrality, short of the violation of its frontiers. This leaves one alternative. A national-revolutionary war of the Chinese masses, following upon the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek, may yet face Japan with a military problem which will dwarf that presented by the Shanghai hostilities of 1931-32.

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The Grass-Roots Conference

O Lord, we thank thee for him under the shadow of whose tomb we meet today.

THE FIRST words at the Midwest Republican Conference, uttered by the Reverend Mr. Sandmeyer of the First Methodist Church of Springfield, Illinois, sounded the keynote of that gathering of stalwart men and women on June 10. But for Lincoln, where should we have been? His evocation, however, illustrated perfectly the paucity of contemporary Republican leadership. It was a Lincoln remade to fit present circumstances and exigencies.

In a conference that blew its lid off in execrating dictatorship, in shouting for liberty, in affirming states' rights, in demanding the gold standard and a balanced budget, in applauding the Supreme Court and declaring for the Constitution as it stands, no one reminded us that Lincoln exercised dictatorial powers and abridged personal liberty, that he smashed states' rights on its most crucial issue, that he issued legal-tender notes and forgot the budget. No one quoted Lincoln's first inaugural speech with reference to the Supreme Court. "The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal." No one remembered that Lincoln thought of the Constitution as Jesus thought of the Sabbath, and declared: "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it." It is true Mr. Hanford MacNider may have had something of this at the back of his mind when he said to the Republican Service Men's League, as reported in The Chicago Tribune, "When a President so crazed with power browbeats Congress and squanders the nation's heritage, it is time to stop him with force."

The Republicans, who are conceded to possess almost a monopoly of the executive ability of the country, show their talent to most advantage in the handling of conventions. This of the Midwest grass-roots was no exception. It is true the task was not so great as had been hoped. On Monday morning The Chicago Tribune, which has had a good deal to do with promoting the affair, announced through an exuberant reporter that between 15,000 and 20,000 grass-roots delegates had arrived on Sunday, with more coming. If so, half of them must have disappeared into Springfield's underworld, for an audience of 6,000 to 7,000 was the maximum at any one session.

They were fine people, good-looking and well dressed, carrying an intimation of well rounded prosperity. The ladies were on hand in large number, the stern-faced parliamentarians of the women's clubs and the other more gracious types. Internally the conference was a friendly, harmonious affair, in contrast with its external truculence. The state headquarters and lobbies of the hotels were filled with amiable groups of people, all saying the same things and agreeing cordially with everything that was said. It was a middle-class crowd, adoring Lincoln as a middle-class hero, equally remote from aristocrats in the White House and proletarians on the street. As Mrs. Simmons of Missouri put it: "Abraham Lincoln was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He was born in a cabin and did not grow up to be a gentleman, but a man." Or as another lady from Missouri, the center of a yessing group of three, remarked: "Of course there's an upper crust and an under crust, but the good's all in the middle."

The same unanimity was evident on the platform of the conference. The speakers took the same cue and responded in the same way. Mr. Harrison Spangler of Iowa, who set us in motion, declared: "Our country is confronted with a grave crisis. . . . The issue today is individualism against regimentation; liberty against autocracy; abundance against a planned scarcity; the philosophies of Lincoln against those of Franklin Deläno Roosevelt"—whereat we all stood up and shouted while the band played "John Brown's Body." The most notable speech of the occasion was delivered by ex-Governor Frank O. Lowden. When he appeared, his fine Scotch face in its shaggy Tory honesty looking like Walter Scott's, the band played "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the conference rose to greet the most eminent of Republican elder statesmen except Elihu Root. Many remembered how he had been framed in 1920 on the charge of buying Negro delegates and cheated out of the presidential nomination to the resulting disgrace of the party. Governor Lowden also believed that no crisis so grave has confronted the country since the Civil War. Mr. Spangler had mentioned certain inalienable rights, freedom of speech, of the press, the sanctity of contracts, trial by jury; to these Mr. Lowden added religious worship, life and liberty, and private property,

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essential to civilization. "There is no room on American soil for a dictatorship of either the fascist or proletarian type of government." He cited the principles of division of power between the states and the federal government—"this indissoluble union of indestructible states"; and declared that "the great issue involves the fate of democracy itself as Lincoln understood it, as Jefferson understood it. Democracy is the cause of humanity. Lincoln was its finest prophet: in life its noblest champion, in death he became its saint."

Altogether, Governor Lowden's speech was a fine effort, recalling the silver age of American political oratory, that of Hoar, Edmunds and Garfield. There was some criticism of it on the ground that it was on too high a level, that it did not reflect severely enough on the character of Mr. Roosevelt, and particularly that this spokesman of the farmers did not curse out the A.A.A., but confined himself to a mild preference for the McNary-Haugen plan. For such shortcomings the conference found compensation in the evening, in the address of Mrs. George B. Simmons of Missouri. Mrs. Simmons turned out to be our ideal woman. With a gentle, expressive face under a big flopping hat, with a sweet drawling voice that tempered the bitterness of her words, she had us *ad captandum*. As she reflected on a certain "personal charm that has been exploited so sickeningly," we refused to discredit utterly this quality as a political asset; and when at the conclusion of her speech the Missouri delegation leaped to its feet and bore its banner down the aisle, followed in procession by the other states, we longed for some magic to change the scene to the Republican convention of 1936, so that we might nominate her for Vice President. What a running mate for Herbert Hoover! was in every mind.

Mrs. Simmons did not pull her punches. She, like her colleagues, accused Mr. Roosevelt of violating all his pledges and, with an eye on the Republican record, reminded us "how much worse political trickery can be than business mismanagement." She deplored the wickedness that does away with states' rights, that subsidizes one class with money taxed out of another class. She gave us sound practical wisdom when she told us to read clause nine of our corn-hog contract, and added that her father had been saved from a ruinous sale of his cattle to the government by taking her advice to read the back side of the bill of sale. As a poultry farmer who began her career twenty-two years ago with thirty red hens, she was fully entitled to her triumph "when we see how two chickens tolled the bell for the Blue Eagle." (Among recurring thoughts at the conference was that of the political ineptitude of the administration, first in setting the Blue Eagle in oratorical competition with the American eagle, and last in staking its life before the Supreme Court in a case involving a chicken farm.) Mrs. Simmons had no elaborate remedy for the farmers' plight: lower interest charges, lower taxes, assistance in time of drought, and for the rest, "let us alone." "The A.A.A. has collected the farmers' liberty along with the processing taxes." In her peroration Mrs. Simmons struck a religious note that carried us back to 1912, in the words of Isaiah: "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength. In rest and in returning ye shall be saved": in the words of Micah, "Walk humbly with thy God." Thinking of the three-mile hike back from the state fair grounds to the Abraham Lincoln Hotel, more than one honest Republican remarked that it would be also very nice to walk with Mrs. Simmons.

Following Mrs. Simmons came the permanent organization—an anti-climax not because John Hamilton of Kansas, the permanent chairman, is not an orator, but because time was running out. He made one of the best shots of the conference, however, when he pointed out that in reform legislation concerning child labor, maximum hours, workmen's compensation, etc., states under Republican control had taken the lead, while in those under Democratic control the exploitation of children and peonage of the Negro flourished. He accused the Democratic administration of seeking to "subvert the fundamental purposes of the Constitution by amendment or intimidation of the judiciary," thanked God for "the nine gentlemen who place obligation above politics," and closed with a ringing declaration in favor of "free speech, free labor and free men."

Next came Mr. Edward A. Hayes, former national commander of the American Legion, for the committee on resolutions, to read an indictment of President Roosevelt in eighteen counts that makes Jefferson's list of grievances against George III in the Declaration of Independence look like a whitewash, and caused The Chicago Daily News to remark solemnly: "Not even the impeachment of Andrew Johnson by Congress itself constituted as severe an arraignment as was visited upon the present executive." We pass this indictment with vociferous unanimity.

The old heads of the conference, among them Governor Lowden, advised final adjournment at the close of the first day, fearing either that the conference would get out of hand or that it would peter out. Both things happened on the second day. Mr. Harry Glasser of Oklahoma got the floor and demanded payment of the bonus out of relief funds. This was a signal for an ovation, looked on sourly by the leaders. Hanford MacNider repeated in more general terms his advice to fight; the applause lasted five minutes. A third Simmons (R. G. of Nebraska) regurgitated the cud of liberty, Americanism and Constitution, and chewed it a while. The platform sounded meek and mild after the sound and fury of the indictment. It made no mention of the bonus, out of consideration for business interests, and none of the A.A.A., out of a similar feeling for the farmers. Then we went home.

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The conference included ten states: Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri and Oklahoma. It was carefully arranged to exclude any presidential boomlets. The only state included that has a real candidate was Kansas. It is said that Michigan was not invited on account of Vandenberg, and Ohio on account of Fess. Although the Young Republican Organization was supposed to be in the limelight, the prominent figures were mostly of the Old Guard. At state headquarters much was heard of the weakness and corruption of Democratic state administrations, particularly in Iowa and Illinois. It is a fair guess that hopes of riding in with Roosevelt in 1936 will not be fulfilled—that riding out with Horner and Herring may be on the cards. To judge by the conference, the Republicans expect, at least hope, that Roosevelt will center the next campaign upon a proposed amendment to the Constitution, giving the federal government power to direct the economic policy of the country free from interference by the Supreme Court. They count on the many mistakes made in exercising such powers as he has usurped, to bring back the usual Republican votes given to Roosevelt in 1932. Moreover, they will go to bat cheerfully for states' rights.

The only thing that approached strategy at the conference was an obvious attempt to drive a wedge into the Democratic Party. Governor Lowden cast aside his manuscript to pay tribute to Stephen A. Douglas, "the greatest Democrat of his time," for his advice to his children, "Obey the laws and uphold the Constitution." Mrs. Simmons drew a tearful distinction "between the Democratic Party as some of us have known and loved it, before the iniquitous era of brain-rust began to corrode our national honor, and this communistic, un-American regime we now so sadly suffer." Before the conference closed, the chairman called for "The Sidewalks of New York" in compliment to Mr. Al Smith. This is one of the political developments of the occasion that will bear watching. For the rest, discounting the bunk and ballyhoo, there was revealed a vigor and fighting strength of the rank and file that is seriously to be taken into account. The Republicans are of those who possess stock notions and habits which, as Matthew Arnold says, "they follow stanchly but mechanically, vainly imagining that there is virtue in following them stanchly, which makes up for the mischief of following them mechanically." Their natural leader is still Herbert Hoover.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

Power Politics in the Pacific

IT SHOULD be fairly obvious by this time that Washington has drifted into the dangerous game of power politics in the Pacific. Outwardly our diplomats are still trying to come to some decision as to our position in the Far East, but the current has already carried them beyond their depth and is running swiftly as they strive to make up their minds. The direction has been fixed partly by events beyond their control and partly by the quickened pace of the naval building program, by the maneuvers of the fleet and its new air arm in Eastern waters and by the strategic surveys in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. The veiled suggestion of the Big Stick in the recent mystery-shrouded flight to Midway Island would seem to indicate that American diplomacy is not altogether dissatisfied with the direction of the current.

If still further evidence is needed, it can be found in the pages of two recently published congressional documents whose real story has apparently been lost in the confusion of domestic issues in Washington. The first of these is a curious "individual" report submitted by Senator Gibson as a member of the Senate Commission that visited the Philippines last summer. Mr. Gibson, like other members of the Commission, had voted for the Tydings-McDuffie Act granting independence at the end of ten years. He returned from his survey to confess his error and to explain his change of heart with refreshing candor. The "injustice" of the Act, he said in his report, "lies in the fact that its provisions will cause us to lose a position of influence in the East and render it difficult to carry out any consistent Far Eastern policy. . . . It will make America, once the hope of Christendom, the leader in the retreat of the white man. . . . It may operate to lose for us one of our best markets."

These pleasant expressions of American imperialism are accompanied by a recital of the dire consequences (to the Philippines) of independence and a warning (to Congress) of the grave menace of Japan. The report declares:

> The following matters deserve special attention: the rise of an ambitious power to commanding influence guided toward its assumed destiny by able statesmen; the so-called "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine"; the fight for trade; the infiltration of Japanese into the Philippines; the placing of Japanese merchants in all parts of the Islands. . . . [all leading to the conclusion that] Japan, in fact, is moving in as we are moving out.

In weighing the cost of retiring from the Islands, Mr. Gibson joins hands with other advocates of

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American *realpolitik* who point out that our evacuation will force Britain into the arms of Japan, with the inevitable sacrifice of the Open Door and the loss of the China trade. "English diplomacy," the report observes, "is not wholly altruistic. . . . A solution may force a secret treaty to delimit spheres of influence and control the trade of the Philippines."

These arguments are not original and the "facts" are not as exciting as those dished up by Mr. Hearst for the education of his pro-American public. They are significant only when they are linked to the activities of the erstwhile supporters of Philippine independence who are now maneuvering for retention of our outpost in the Orient. The "individual" report of Mr. Gibson and a similar document presented by Senator McKellar reflect pretty accurately the views of other members of the Commission—Chairman Tydings and Senator McAdoo—as well as some influential advisers of the President and certain elements (though not all) in the army and navy. How far the campaign has actually gone it is hard to say. That it is gaining momentum and winning new recruits is well known. And its sponsors profess the hope that the Filipinos, whose interests they really have at heart, can be brought to see the light before the completion of the ten-year interval.

The second congressional paper has been widely publicized by virtue of the celebrated incident of the "camouflaged" air base on the Canadian border. But its relation to the problems of the Pacific has been neglected in favor of its more dramatic, if less significant, passages.

The three army officers who appeared before the House Committee on Military Affairs in February were testifying, presumably in executive session, on the Wilcox bill to provide for the construction of frontier air-defense bases. They spoke with the full authority of the War Department and presented the draft of an amended bill designed to meet the views of the Department. Despite the rebuke subsequently administered by President Roosevelt, the bill is now being pushed through Congress with the backing of the War Department, which of course implies the approval of the administration.

The provisions of this measure, which calls for the location of air bases in six strategic areas, including Alaska, are detailed and complex. But the theory behind the bill is simple and sufficiently revealing without the details. Summarizing the testimony of General Kilbourne, General Andrews and Captain H. L. George, it runs something like this:

The advent of air power has brought into existence an instrument that permits nations to apply pressure directly against the vital centers of the enemy, thus accomplishing the object of war, which is to overcome the will of the enemy to resist.

Highly organized states are especially vulnerable to air attack; the vital objectives are transportation systems, centers of power distribution and fuel and water-supply systems.

The United States, as a highly developed country, is vulnerable to air attack in the area east of the Mississippi River and north of the line extending east from St. Louis to the Atlantic; enemy planes operating from bases on the North American Continent, in Central America or the Caribbean, or from aircraft carriers operating within a thousand miles of our coasts, could paralyze this vital area.

A hostile air attack cannot be stopped from the ground; the only adequate defense is to check the attack at the enemy base.

With this theory in mind, the logic of the huge G.H.Q. air force of a thousand bombing and fast pursuit planes demanded by General Douglas MacArthur, chief of staff, a year ago and approved by the Baker Board last summer becomes apparent. In outlining the functions of the G.H.Q. force General MacArthur said in October, 1934, that "It could be used on independent missions of destruction aimed at the vital arteries of a nation, or divided and used as necessity demanded."

The logic of an air base in Alaska and the importance of continued surveys in the Aleutian Islands is equally apparent when it is realized that the direct great-circle route to Japan and the Far East passes over Unalaska—only 2,600 miles from Yokohama, and 1,200 miles closer than Hawaii.

The naval air maneuvers attest the strategic importance of the Pan-American line air bases at Midway, Wake and Guam Islands, which will open the way to regular commercial flights from San Francisco to Manila and thence to Hongkong. With high-powered bombing planes now capable of making 3,000 mile non-stop flights, the vital centers of possible enemy nations in the Pacific are already within striking distance.

There can be little doubt that air power is about to become the new key to strategy and diplomacy in the Pacific. For half a century the navy has been the primary instrument of American policy in Asia. The limitations of this instrument have imposed an effective check on our foreign policy, for our naval strategists have recognized the fact that without a fleet three times the size of Japan's we could not challenge the dominant power in Asiatic waters. The airplane has not yet superceded the battleship as the primary instrument of policy, but it has already transformed the strategic and diplomatic problem, and added another current to the swiftly flowing stream. The warning in the second of these congressional documents is that before the end of the next decade, and before the Philippines can gain their promised liberation, the issue of peace or war in the Far East may be decided by the new instrument of power.

WILLIAM T. STONE.

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Where Civil Liberties Stand Today

WE PRESENT below a summary of the status of civil liberties in the United States. As will be seen, the first table specifies the "Gag Legislation" that had been passed by state legislatures prior to the beginning of last winter's sessions. The second table summarizes the laws passed and the bills introduced in the state legislatures last winter. There is also appended a summary of the similar measures that have been introduced during the present session of Congress.

This information was collected for The New Republic by Samuel Paul Puner, office counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, New York City.

LAWS ON STATUTE BOOKS UP TO AND INCLUDING THE END OF THE 1934 LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS

	Criminal Syndicalism	*Sedition*	*Criminal Anarchy*	*Red Flag*	*Teachers' Loyalty Oath*
ALABAMA			1923	1919	
ARIZONA				1919	
ARKANSAS			1919	1919	
CALIFORNIA	1919			1919	1931
COLORADO	1919	1919	1919	1919	1931
CONNECTICUT	1923	1919		1919	
DELAWARE		1931		1919	
FLORIDA		1866 (Insurrection and Sedition Statute)			
GEORGIA					
IDAHO	1917			1919	
ILLINOIS		1919		1919	
INDIANA		1919		1919	1929
IOWA	1919	1917		1919	
KANSAS	1920			1919	
KENTUCKY		1920			
LOUISIANA		1917			
MAINE					
MARYLAND					
MASSACHUSETTS		1919			
MICHIGAN	1919			1919	1931
MINNESOTA		1919 (war-time)		1919	
MISSISSIPPI		1920			
MISSOURI					
MONTANA	1918	1919		1919	1931
NEBRASKA				1919	
NEVADA	1919				
NEW HAMPSHIRE		1919			
NEW JERSEY		1918	1902	1919	
NEW MEXICO		1919		1919	
NEW YORK			1909 (amended 1920)	1919	1934
NORTH CAROLINA					
NORTH DAKOTA				1921	1931
OHIO	1919			1919	1919
OKLAHOMA	1919	1919		1919	1923
OREGON	1921 (amended 1933)			1919	1921

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	Criminal Syndicalism	*Sedition*	*Criminal Anarchy*	*Red Flag*	*Teachers' Loyalty Oath*
PENNSYLVANIA		1919		1895	
RHODE ISLAND		1919	1919	1919	
SOUTH CAROLINA					
SOUTH DAKOTA	1918			1919	1921
TENNESSEE		1715 (modified 1865)			
TEXAS					
UTAH	1919			1919	
VERMONT			1919	1919	1931
VIRGINIA					
WASHINGTON	1919	1909	1909	1919	1931
WEST VIRGINIA	1919			1919	1923
WISCONSIN			1903	1919	
WYOMING					

LAWS ENACTED AND PENDING, 1935 SESSIONS

	Ballot Bill	*Teachers' Loyalty Oath*	*Sedition*	*Miscellaneous*
ALABAMA			Passed Lower House. New bill substituted in Senate.	
ARIZONA		Enacted	Killed	
ARKANSAS	Enacted		Killed	
CALIFORNIA	Pending		Killed	Note below
COLORADO				
CONNECTICUT		Pending	Killed	
DELAWARE	Enacted	Passed and vetoed		
FLORIDA	Pending	Pending		
GEORGIA	Passed and vetoed	Enacted	Passed and vetoed	
IDAHO				
ILLINOIS	Pending	Pending		Repeal of criminal syndicalism defeated. Pending, bill declaring radical meeting places public nuisances.
INDIANA	Enacted			
IOWA	Pending	Pending		Pending, to repeal criminal-syndicalism and Red-flag laws.
KANSAS		Defeated		
KENTUCKY	No Session			
LOUISIANA	No Session			
MAINE	Killed			
MARYLAND		Passed and vetoed		
MASSACHUSETTS	Pending	Defeated		
MICHIGAN	Pending	Enacted	Dunckel-Baldwin bill passed, not yet signed	
MINNESOTA				
MISSISSIPPI	No Session			
MISSOURI	Killed			
MONTANA				
NEBRASKA				
NEVADA	Killed			
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Pending			

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	Ballot Bill	Teachers' Loyalty Oath	Sedition	Miscellaneous
New Jersey		Enacted		Enacted a bill making it a crime to disseminate or publish propaganda tending to create hatred against people of New Jersey by reason of race, color, religion or manner or worship; popularly known as the Anti-Nazi Law.
New Mexico				Criminal-syndicalism bill defeated.
New York	Killed			Enacted bill making even private practice of nudism a crime. Vetoed extradition bill permitting extradition for acts committed in New York and legal there but crimes in another state. Killed bill requiring oath of allegiance of first voters.
North Carolina				
North Dakota				
Ohio	Killed			Repeal of criminal-syndicalism law killed.
Oklahoma	Defeated			
Oregon	Killed			
Pennsylvania		Pending		Sedition-law repeal, killed.
Rhode Island	Killed			
South Carolina		Pending		
South Dakota				
Tennessee	Enacted			
Texas	Pending	Pending	Killed	
Utah				
Vermont	Killed	Pending		
Virginia	No Session			
Washington	Killed			
West Virginia	Killed			
Wisconsin		Pending		
Wyoming				

Gag Bills

Criminal Syndicalism.—Criminal syndicalism is the doctrine that advocates the crime of sabotage, which is defined as malicious injury or destruction of the property of another, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, under existing criminal-syndicalism laws, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony and is generally punishable by imprisonment up to ten years, or by a fine, or both.

Sedition.—Sedition is the advocacy by word of mouth or in writing of the necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing the government of the United States or the government of any state of the United States. Mere possession of literature advocating this doctrine, under some statutes, is held sufficient to constitute the crime. Sedition is a felony and is generally punishable by five years' imprisonment, or by a fine, or both.

Criminal Anarchy.—Criminal anarchy is the doctrine that all organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by the assassination of the executive officials of the government, or by any unlawful means. Advocacy of such doctrine either by word of mouth or writing is a felony and is generally punishable by five years' imprisonment, or by a fine, or both.

Red-Flag Laws.—Red-flag laws provide in general that a person who shall display or expose to view the red flag (sometimes black flag) in any public assembly or parade as a symbol or emblem of any organization or association, or in furtherance of any political, social or economic principle, doctrine or propaganda, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

Loyalty Oaths.—Loyalty-oath laws in general provide that it shall be unlawful for any citizen of the United States to serve as teacher, instructor or professor in any school or institution in the public-school system of the state or in any school, college, university or other educational institution in the state unless the following oath (which is typical) is taken: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States of America and the Constitution of the state of ——— and that I will faithfully discharge, according to the best of my ability, the duties of the position of ..... in ..... School, to which I am now assigned."

Ballot Bills.—For the first time in American history a measure was introduced in the various state legislatures during the current sessions to bar from the ballot a

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political party because of its principles. Such a proposal was entirely unprecedented.

The ballot bills designated in the chart in general provide that no political party that advocates the overthrow by force or violence or that carries on a program of sedition or treason, by speech or press, toward our local, state or national government shall be recognized and given a place on the ballot.

Note on California

Pending Gag Bills.—Denying suffrage to persons advocating the overthrow of government.

Denying participation in primaries to parties advocating change by force in industrial ownership.

Prohibiting teaching of communism.

Prohibiting distribution of radical literature in schools.

Denying use of schools to radical organizations for discussion.

Establishing new Red-flag law.

Making it criminal to attend a meeting where overthrow of government is advocated.

Making advocacy of pacifism or revolution a felony.

Making it a felony to possess literature advocating overthrow of government by force and violence, literature to be destroyed as public nuisance.

Declaring radical meeting places nuisances.

Setting up state espionage system.

Excluding "dangerous or detrimental" aliens from entering the state.

Excluding *all* political and economic groups from use of schools.

Pending Anti-Gag Bills.—Against punishment of speech not accompanied by overt violence.

Repeal of criminal-syndicalism law (killed).

Prohibiting compulsory military training in the colleges.

Forbidding political discrimination in use of schools.

Anti-lynching bill.

Pending Federal Legislation Restricting Civil Liberties

I. Sedition Bills

There is no federal peacetime sedition law. All attempts to enact such measures have failed. There is, however, on the statute books a law popularly called the "Espionage Act," enacted in 1917 and, by its terms, a war measure designed to punish seditious utterances. There are seven bills now pending in Congress, which, if enacted, would make it a crime to advance political doctrines inconsistent with the established form of government. Mere advocacy of principles or statements of belief would constitute the crime of sedition and subject the utterer to five years' imprisonment in a federal penitentiary, or $5,000 fine, or both.

The most prominent of these bills is that of Mr. Charles Kramer of California, which recently had a hearing before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee: H. R. 6427 (Kramer):

> A bill to prohibit statements and publications advocating overthrow of the government by violence, and for other purposes.
>
> Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that any person who knowingly makes any statement, orally or in writing, which advocates or urges the overthrow of the government of the United States, or of any state or territory, by force or violence, or by assassination of the Executive head or any other official of such government, or other unlawful means, and any person who knowingly prints, publishes, issues, edits, circulates, sells, distributes, or displays in public any written matter containing any such statement, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000, or imprisonment for not more than five years, or both.
>
> Sec. 2. As used in this Act, the term "person" includes an individual, partnership, association, or corporation.

The other bills are all pending before the House Judiciary Committee. They are as follows: H. R. 57 (Tarver); H. R. 2866 (Taylor); H. R. 2897 (Ramspeck); H. R. 3036 (Fulmer); H. R. 3056 (Blanton) and H. R. 4313 (Kramer).

II. Anti-Alien Bills

The drive against aliens is also almost without precedent in its severity. More than a score of measures have been introduced, all tending either to simplify deportations and extend the categories of deportables or to make it increasingly difficult for foreigners to enter the United States. The most prominent of the pending bills are:

H. R. 5839 (Dickstein): Providing for the deportation of aliens who engage in the dissemination of propaganda instigated from foreign sources or engage in political activities. This bill had a public hearing in March. Opponents pointed out the vagueness of the terms "propaganda instigated from foreign sources" and "political activities," which resulted in the introduction of a new bill *(H. R. 7221)* by Mr. Dickstein, seeking to cure the vagueness of these terms by defining them.

H. R. 7221 (Dickstein): Defines "propaganda instigated from foreign sources" to mean "any systematic effort, which is directed or supported from known sources outside the territory and jurisdiction of the United States and which is intended to gain, within the United States, favorable public opinion and support for (1) the adoption in the United States of any opinion, or of any course of action, or of any governmental policy, which is inconsistent with the principles of the Constitution or laws of the United States, or (2) the extension from any foreign country to the United States of the application of any religious or racial prejudices and intolerances in official and private life and in business affairs." This measure, if enacted, would bar from the United States all foreign political thinkers and scholars.

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H. R. 7120 (Dies): Provides for the deportation and exclusion of "alien fascists and communists." No distinction is made between communists and fascists, both simply being defined as those advocating the overthrow of government. A distinction, however, is made between the advocacy of the overthrow of non-communist and non-fascist governments and communist and fascist governments. Those advocating the overthrow of the latter governments are not subject, under the terms of the bill, to deportation.

H. R. 6795 (Kerr): This bill is the official measure of the Department of Labor, attempting to remedy some of the most prominent bad features of the present immigration laws. It fails, however, to embody most of the recommendations of the Ellis Island Commission which was appointed last year by the Secretary of Labor to investigate the administration of the immigration laws. This Committee rendered a report embodying more than thirty specific recommendations for legislation. Not more than two or three are contained in the present measure. The good features of the bill are (1) permitting alien visitors to change their status to permanent residents without leaving the country, and (2) giving the Secretary of Labor a limited discretion not to deport where families would be disrupted. The bad features are (1) the extended power of making arrests without warrant; (2) the enlargement of the provisions rendering aliens deportable, and (3) the unwarranted limitation on the discretion of the Secretary of Labor to suspend deportation where families would be broken up.

The other anti-alien bills are as follows:

H. R. 184 (Bacon): A resolution providing for a congressional inquiry into the decline of deportations in the last few years.

H. R. 2010 (Dies): Adding "communists" to the categories of persons ipso facto deportable.

H. R. 2792 (Hoeppel): Providing for the deportation of aliens who, after two years in the United States, do not declare their intention of becoming citizens.

H. R. 3022 (Hoeppel): Cutting off relief from aliens who have not declared their intention of becoming citizens, and making it unlawful to employ aliens on government projects.

H. R. 3048 (Stubbs): Making it illegal to employ any alien while there are American citizens out of work who are able and willing to work.

H. R. 3989 (Taylor): Providing for the deportation of aliens who have been convicted of two or more crimes, who carry firearms, or who are members of any association which advocates a change in the form of government of the United States or engaged in any domestic political agitation.

H. R. 4551 (Sirovich): Providing for the deportation of aliens who have entered the United States illegally.

H. R. 5921 (Dies): Providing for the deportation of aliens carrying weapons, etc.; those failing to announce their intention of becoming citizens; and those affiliated with organizations advocating the overthrow of government by force and violence.

H. R. 6322 (May): Providing for the deportation of aliens as in the above bill, and those associated with any international political agency seeking to change the character of the government of the United States.

H. R. 6367 (Taylor): Substantially the same as the last two bills.

H. R. 6994 (Green): Substantially similar to H. R. 6367.

H. R. 7079 (Green): Superseding the above with a few minor changes.

H. R. 7223 (Focht): Substantially similar to H. R. 6795.

S. 977 (Steiwer): Providing for the denaturalization and deportation of naturalized citizens convicted of a felony.

III. Military Bills

Congressman John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, chairman of the Special Congressional Committee which recently investigated un-American activities, introduced a bill (H. R. 5845) embodying the terms of the "Espionage Act." The bill reads: "Whoever advises, counsels, urges or solicits any member of the military or naval forces of the United States . . . to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces, or whoever publishes or distributes any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter or other writing which advises, counsels, urges or solicits any member of such military or naval forces of the United States to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both." As a peacetime proposal, this bill is without precedent and is more far-reaching than the very inclusive and stringent "Espionage Act" upon which it is modeled. Under its terms a governmental control of the press could be instituted by prosecution of publishers or distributors of anti-war books and periodicals. Citizens who protest the use of the National Guard in strikes could be punished. The measure is entirely unnecessary, as existing laws adequately punish disaffection, mutiny or disobedience in the army and navy or any conspiracy among civilians to incite any of these acts.

H. J. R. 141 (Connery): A bill introduced to curb the use of the National Guard in strikes by providing that no federal equipment or supplies be furnished the National Guard while on strike duty, the support of these units being left to the demanding states. This bill was killed in Committee.

IV. Censorship Bills

H. R. 2999 (Culkin): This is a bill that would invoke a federal censorship of motion pictures, none existing at the present time, with authority to cut or suppress films residing in state boards. At the present time only completed films

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are subject to review, but under this bill the federal government would have powers of surveillance from the very preparation of the script onward.

H. R. 5370 (Higgins): Provides a penalty for anyone who shall knowingly cause obscene matter to be delivered by mail or to be delivered at the place at which it is directed to be delivered. The companion bill in the Senate is S. 1541 (Hayden). This bill would make prosecutions possible at the point of receipt rather than at the point of sending, as such measures have hitherto provided. Not only would the disseminators of birth-control information be guilty of a crime, but those who sent for this information and received it would now be equally guilty.

V. Allegiance Bills

H. R. 3 (Kenny): Memorializing the states to require the taking of an oath of allegiance by every teacher.

H. R. 6362 (Polk): Depriving any school or college of any federal aid if it permits anyone to lecture on or teach the propriety of overthrowing the government of the United States by force and violence.

Note on the Anti-Lynching Bill

The Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill *(S. 24)* was again introduced in the Senate this year. The violent filibuster of Southern Senators has forced this bill to be recommitted to the Judiciary Committee. The bill provides that if a state neglects to furnish protection for the life of a person within its jurisdiction against a mob, such state shall be deemed to have denied such person both due process of law and the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the United States Constitution. The bill further provides for the punishment by the federal government of state or county officials who either actively or passively coöperate with a lynch mob.

Prelude

In heavenly stillness when the evening stands
deep as a world above your lifted hands—
deep as a world above your lifted face
the profound ocean of unspoken space—

look, as the darkness deepens, your arms reach farther
godlike and fisherlike the world to gather;
but still the streaming waters elude your meshes,
weeds and flotsam outnumbering the fishes.

Nothing is there? But again the stillness comes;
once more against the dark your godhead looms;
the vaster net of a vaster self you fling,
and draw toward you the innumerable Thing.

What god with angry face would you find there?
or what immortal food or end of care?
Greatly your own greatness the net brings back;
or, weakly dared and flung, your own soul's lack.

Conrad Aiken.

Washington Notes

Three Dead Initials—Cashbox Without Cash—Projects and Promises—Mr. Roosevelt, Prisoner of Business

BENEATH the hubbub raised by the N.R.A. decision, a vast, silent struggle has been taking place for the right to spend the $4,800,000,000 work-relief fund. The struggle is now virtually over. Hopkins has won. The largest single share of the fund will be used to continue the present F.E.R.A. work program, almost unchanged. Ickes will get practically nothing, hardly more than enough to construct the P.W.A. projects already approved. The P.W.A. is as dead as the N.R.A.

This is a development of great importance. Yet it has come about as the result of no plan, no publicly considered decision. First, Hopkins spent most of the odd $800,000,000 of the fund for month-to-month relief during the late winter and spring. This sum, it should be explained, was added to the four billions originally asked for by Mr. Roosevelt, and represented the unspent balance of the old P.W.A. appropriation of 1933. P.W.A. officials are now quite bitter about the way in which this $800,000,000 was taken from them. They feel that they were victims of a raid by Lighthorse Harry Hopkins. At present, the P.W.A.'s cashbox is almost empty, and for future projects it must apply to the new work-relief fund.

The next thing to happen was the definite approval by Mr. Roosevelt of allotments of $428,000,000 to the Department of Agriculture for roads, grade-crossings and forestry work; $102,000,000 to the War and Navy Departments for harbor and river improvements and miscellaneous projects and $221,000,000 to the C.C.C. The C.C.C. also has a solemn promise of an additional $400,000,000. However, these allotments, including the additional money for the C.C.C., will care for only 500,000 of the 3,500,000 officially designated "employables."

By these allotments, the work-relief fund was brought down to $2,900,000,000. Against this, there remained about 3,000,000 employables to be put to work. This was the point at which F.E.R.A. officials began to ask that the largest share of the remaining fund be given over to them. Their reasoning, from their own point of view, was unanswerable. The bulk of employables is concentrated around the great industrial cities. Under the wage scales fixed by Mr. Roosevelt for the new work-relief program, workers in these areas are to be paid from $40 to $94 a month. On the basis of rough estimates, it is believed the average will be around $50 a month, shockingly little, it must be said, on which to support a family. At the rate of $50 a month, the cost of employing 3,000,000 employables for a year will be $1,800,000,000.

However, under the old F.E.R.A. program, the cost of work materials, tools and land was borne by the municipalities and counties in which projects were conducted. Under the new program, these costs must be assumed largely by the federal government, and a purchase division is now being made ready under Admiral Peoples. F.E.R.A. officials have shown great ingenuity in producing work projects out of thin air, but even with the help of magic

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the cost of materials is bound to run to at least ten or fifteen percent of the amount spent for wages. If it is only ten percent, the total cost of giving jobs to these 3,000,000 will rise to approximately two billions.

As we have seen, the available money in the work-relief fund is now down to $2,900,000,000. But in addition to the amount that Hopkins will want, there still remain to be considered the claims of the rural rehabilitation administration for $500,000,000, of the rural electrification administration for $100,000,000, of the various soil-erosion and flood-prevention agencies for $350,000,000. In all likelihood these sums will be heavily reduced, but, since these activities are all important parts of Mr. Roosevelt's program, they must be adequately cared for. Hopkins' desire to nail down the money that he thinks he will need, therefore, becomes understandable. It also becomes evident that not even the core of the apple will be left for the P.W.A.

About a month ago, Ickes submitted an experimental batch of applications for work-relief funds. According to P.W.A. officials, they reached in due course the new Works Progress Division, of which Hopkins is the head, and there they stuck. Eventually the controversy was taken to the White House, where, on June 3, Mr. Roosevelt uttered his dictum that the average cost per man under the new program must not exceed $1,140. On the majority of P.W.A. projects, the cost per man has been far higher. With Mr. Roosevelt's remark, the P.W.A. expired.

In retrospect, Hopkins has shown extraordinary persistence. He hates the dole. Less than six months after he arrived in Washington, he initiated the C.W.A., under which he put 4,000,000 persons to work at substantially their pre-depression jobs. The cost of the C.W.A. terrified the administration, and Hopkins was instructed to demobilize it. This he did, but within two months he was employing more than a million persons on F.E.R.A. work-relief projects. By September of last year, he had raised this number to 1,950,000. The United States Chamber of Commerce protested that the relief workers, by producing part of their own food, clothing and household furniture, were competing with private industry, and, without breaking his stride, Hopkins dropped many of his production-for-use projects, and turned to cheap types of public works, including some building. By February of this year, Hopkins had succeeded in lifting the number of employed on F.E.R.A. projects to no less than 2,400,000. Simultaneously he was helping to push through Congress the $4,800,000,000 work-relief bill, which now turns out to be chiefly a means of enabling him to carry through his program to a successful climax.

However, it is unfair to contrast Hopkins' success with the failure of Ickes and the P.W.A. The troubles of the P.W.A. come neither from Ickes' suspiciousness in spending money, nor from the expensiveness of public works. Under the new work-relief program, money spent on housing would create about as much employment as that spent in any other way. Excluding the cost of land, the accepted sum needed to employ a man for a year on housing is $2,500. But only 45 percent of this, or $1,125, would be charged against the federal government; the rest would be raised by the local authorities in the private-capital market. Moreover, this $1,125 of federal expenditure would immediately employ at least one other man in the preparation of materials. On the F.E.R.A. type of project, it will cost about $700 to employ one man, and almost no indirect employment will occur.

The reason that the P.W.A. is being put to death is not its own defects, but that Mr. Roosevelt has become in effect the prisoner of business, and will remain so until the election, sixteen months from now. The most promising kinds of public works are hydro-electric-power developments and housing, and both of them are strenuously opposed by business. Moreover, if the administration were to embark on a new, enlarged housing program, it would be in the position of competing both for certain kinds of skilled building labor and for investment funds at a moment when it is striving desperately to persuade private business to undertake large capital expenditures. Because of the great surplus of building labor and investment funds, the effects of government competition would be microscopic, but the administration does not dare even to appear to place obstacles in the way of private business. Hopkins' program will not interfere with business in any way, and that is why it has been chosen.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Apologia pro Vita Sua—Beg, Don't Borrow—Watch the Market—Who Fathered the Guffey Bill?

MR. HERBERT HOOVER, who promised us that he would abolish poverty, and delivered the country over to Mr. Roosevelt with fourteen million people out of work, is now busily engaged with his apologia. One section of this interesting piece of renovizing is a series of articles in The Saturday Evening Post in which one of his late secretariat undertakes to prove that the banking crash that featured his exit from the White House was caused by Mr. Roosevelt in collaboration with certain other forces and persons. Among the villains in this great disaster were those who brought about publication of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans. As I had something to do with that I cannot help feeling a sense of shame at the great injustice done to Mr. Hoover. Apparently the one person who had nothing to do with the banking crash was our beloved late President. It seems that Mr. Roosevelt, exposure of R.F.C. loans, rumors of inflation, threats of tariff tinkering—all these contributed to the crash. But throughout the whole series it is not suggested anywhere that the hopelessly rotten state of the banks had anything to do with it.

After all, the banks were pretty bad. They had been failing at the rate of from a thousand a year up all during Mr. Hoover's regime. Nearly 1,500 failed in the last year of his reign. The rascality of the bankers, the shameful use made of the people's money in their banks, the vast losses that resulted from unspeakably bad banking practices—all this is not so much as whispered in the article. The story has not yet been finished, and even if it were, there is not room here to reply to it in full. But in a future issue I will have the opportunity to go over again at

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length, in the light of Mr. Hoover's "revelations," that amazing episode in fiance that climaxed the years of Hoover abundance.

A leaflet of the Brooklyn Trust Company outlining how to make a modernization loan has been sent me. The interesting feature is the cost of the loan. If you borrow $100, five-percent interest for the year on the entire hundred is deducted at once. Thus you really borrow only $95 on which you really pay 5.2-percent interest. However, you do not keep the $95 for a year. You must pay it back at the rate of $8.33 a month. If you will figure the interest charge on this kind of loan you will find it comes to 10.5 percent. This in spite of the government insurance on the transaction. If the monthly payments are not paid promptly—that is, if they fall behind fifteen days—there is a penalty charge: five cents for each dollar in arrears. On one slow payment of $8.33, it would be at least 40 cents. A few slow payments would very seriously affect the interest collected by the patriotic banker.

The hurly-burly over the N.R.A. was chiefly in the newspapers, which made a mountain out of it. The frantic appeals from business to the President were mostly from code authorities who were about to lose their jobs. Business as a whole and particularly in Wall Street, which watches such things, was quite unruffled. It was much more interested in the course of the market which, by the way, is beginning to assume significance. The phenomenon of a continuous rise in stock prices over a period of nearly four months coincident with a continuous decline in business over the same period, a continuous decline in production and a continuous rise in bank deposits looks very much like inflation expressing itself. At all events, this quarter is worth watching for a while.

Recently I printed in this column some comments on various salary increases. Among them I mentioned Mr. William F. Humphrey, president of the Tidewater Oil Company, as receiving $60,000 from that company and $48,195 from the Associated Oil Company. I mentioned also Mr. Edwin L. Shea as getting two salaries of $49,999 from the Tidewater Company and the Associated. These salaries were widely reported in the newspapers at the same time in the same way. But the reports were wrong. A letter from Mr. Humphrey calls my attention to the fact that he receives $45,000 from the Associated, $7,500 from the Tidewater and $7,500 from the Tidewater Associated —$60,000 in all. These three companies are affiliated concerns. Mr. Shea receives one salary of $50,000 from the Tidewater Oil Company. I am glad to make the correction.

I have not been able to see a copy of the Guffey bill since its passage by the House. This is the bill that undertakes to set up a kind of combination N.R.A. and A.A.A. for the coal industry. The bill before the House included a provision for a $300,000,000 appropriation which the Commission set up could use to buy up mines and keep them as part of our "coal reserve." This is a euphemism for buying up mines and silencing them at the expense of the public, so that the mine operators can create a coal scarcity comparable to our pork scarcity and call on the public, which cannot buy coal at present prices, to pay still higher prices for it. The complete genesis of this bill would be interesting if we could get it. Apparently it is sponsored by the miners. But there is good ground to believe it was originated and inspired by the operators. It is to be hoped that this section will be stricken from it before it is passed. If it is a good thing to buy up mines with public money and not operate them, then why is it not a good thing to buy up unprofitable textile mills and unprofitable railroads and unprofitable copper mines and so on? But if it is a good thing to buy up and kill little pigs, in fact to pay for little pigs that are not even conceived, then why isn't it a good thing to buy up mines and so on? In short, when you begin this kind of thing where are you to stop?

JOHN T. FLYNN.

New Wine and Old Bottles

ALTHOUGH wishing to give his new color process every chance and set it forth with a high-class story and cast, Robert Edmond Jones has gone the usual way in "Becky Sharp" and made color the big thing—with the result that the story, already sketchy, doesn't seem to mean much. The weak (sentimental) part of Thackeray has been retained; his strong polite prose, social bite and portrayal have been left behind in "Vanity Fair." The best dramatic meat here is in the personalities: Miriam Hopkins as Becky, Nigel Bruce (Jos), Alison Skipworth, Alan Mowbray, Cedric Hardwicke. And in the hands of that misdirector, that splash in pictures, Rouben Mamoulian, even this natural talent is overlaid with staginess.

The picture is the first feature film in color, and therefore a sort of presage of the strong chance that some such process will some day not only replace the present half-tone prints entirely but affect the technique of pictures—though to a naturally lesser degree than the introduction of sound. But the trouble with all the color films so far is that the producer becomes a kid in candy land: he has still to get sufficiently used to color to keep it in its place, a means, not an end. The colors in "Becky Sharp" are nearly natural, but terribly gaudy, partly because of the hard garish light under which shots were taken, partly because Mr. Jones as designer cannot cry quits to a set until that last bit of wall is covered with a tasty blue curtain, until everybody is dressed in blue, or red, and when Mr. Jones says red he means red. Yellow on white comes through well and there are some rich browns—including the faces of the cast, which looks like a boatload of tennis players from the Canal Zone. Otherwise it is all very wonderful and amazing, and as pleasing to the eye as a fresh-fruit sundae, but not much more. It will take time, we must be patient.

It begins to appear, from the G-men films that have followed the release of "G-Men" (which, being the first, was cautious and sluggish), as though we are back in the gangster cycle. The same safety device is employed in all of these films, but the observance becomes more and more perfunctory. The routine is as follows. There is a jail break and a dangerous criminal is at large, burning up the countryside with his mob of pretty lads. Of this Washington

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hears, without liking it. Clues pass through the laboratories for detection, the inexorable law studies its road map and buckles on its roscoe. Pity the poor scofflaws on a night like this. And now, the build-up for a quick end to evil completed, we cut back to the mob again, being only in the third reel. The mob appears to be doing quite well, sitting in a hideout, wearing hats and rods and talking big.

And from this point on the federal men may do whatever is to their pleasure—such as spring empty traps, look inexorable and coöperate with the love interest—but one thing is sure, and this is that they will not take anybody. It takes from 7,200 to 7,500 feet of film for them to get worked up to that point, and even then someone has to jump conveniently in their lap and turn rat for them. Led to the hide-out they riddle it with lead and the hero goes in to get the leader single-handed and he's down, he's up, he's all over the place, he's lost his gun, he's down again and so on until there is no hope for the single-handed hero, except that in the next two minutes the gangster's gun has failed to go off in his face and right has triumphed. Fade on right triumphing, also love.

This federal stuff is all so many gooseberries of course; the show is really about the gangster. In "Let 'Em Have It" he was a chauffeur and hated the rich. His mobs came to be in more banks than the Morgans; he wouldn't stop until he got independent for life; then the money got too hot and he had to stop, but couldn't. He is Bruce Cabot and convincing in the part, which is well built up, especially in the scenes of Public Enemy No. 1 at home with all the little public enemies.

In "Public Hero No. 1" the public villain is Joseph Calleia, a strong, dark, close-mouthed fellow; he is in prison, sitting with his mouth shut, and comes to trust Chester Morris, who is loud with protest against the prison treatment and suggests a break. So when they've made their break, Calleia finds shelter for them both with his gang, because this man is his friend, see, and he trusts him. Chester Morris then reports to his chief, having been Public Hero No. 1 all along, though feeling no compunction. But when the girl turns out to be the gangster's sister, then our Hawkshaw is torn mightily, he is really torn. Even then, the only thing he ultimately balks at is betraying his girl into betraying her brother, and his chief doesn't balk at his doing that—in fact threatens to disgrace him if he doesn't. Very fine people.

But in spite of this unfortunate side, "Public Hero No. 1" is the best picture on criminal life I've seen (and that includes "Public Enemy," which had a franker truth but now dates in tempo and power). The producers have profited from the recent trend in detective pictures: they keep their action clear, but work in a natural and breezy romance (thanks here to Jean Arthur) and quite a bit of tough pertinent humor through the character of the gang's dipso surgeon (Lionel Barrymore and eminent in the part). And they have brought to bear on their subject matter of violence and sudden death a wonderful combination of strong cutting, sound, and delicate camera adjustment. Not just automatic realism either, as can be seen from a shot like that of the two prisoners marching across the court, covering their guard with concealed guns and trying to step naturally in all that bare hostile space, the camera looking down on this from up in the guard tower, from behind a loosely held machine gun that in some of the art we have been told about might even be found to be a Symbol. Then there is all the usual stuff raised to a high degree: the usual attack and running battle, the terrible hail of bullets on the gang's last stand, registered in splintering wood and crumbling plaster, in the particularly shrewd device of having a bar in the line of fire here, with all its shelves of bottles and that methodical holocaust of flying glass and liquid.

These films give the highest dramatic expression to things that are no less a social truth because you can read them in your paper; they are not only intense melodrama, they have something to them, of pity and terror. The story, brutality in a treadmill and its own death sentence, is not safely classic and may not be intended for social comment and all that; but as far as putting a thing into terms of its medium is concerned, the movies are really fine. There is a false thing at the bottom of them, to plague their best friends, but what it would take to make them wholly straight could be supplied by any literary mug. With their feeling for oppressive truth, their explosive timing and genius for significant details, art could go anywhere. But art could not get to first base with what their story lacks.

OTIS FERGUSON.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Hearst Newsreels

SIR: From your editorial comments on the movement to boycott the Hearst-Metrotone newsreel at American colleges and universities [The New Republic, May 22, May 29 and June 5] one might judge that the protest is confined largely to the organized activity of student bodies, but those on the inside of the Hearst motion-picture organization know that it embraces a much larger section of the public. Individuals all over the country are registering objection at the box offices to the content of the Hearst newsreel and exhibitors in turn are flooding the distribution centers with letters and telegrams demanding that it confine itself to the treatment of "non-controversial" subjects.

The effectiveness of this campaign cannot be measured by the present volume of circulation as compared with the volume of circulation in effect before the campaign started, because exhibitors, as a rule, cannot buy the Hearst-Metrotone newsreel except on a non-cancellable basis. Moreover, there is a still stronger reason why theatres, independent or affiliated, cannot express their dissatisfaction by canceling their contracts. The Hearst-Metrotone newsreel is distributed by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, whose feature output is one of the principal sources of supply for the industry and no exhibitor can afford to jeopardize his relation with a distributor occupying so strategic a position. The troubles ahead for the Hearst newsreel enterprise, however, consist in the application of certain techniques by the individual exhibitor, goaded on by the articulate members of his audience, which even the strongest distributing company cannot prevent. Since the newsreel is a compilation of unrelated subjects, the exhibitor simply cuts out those he deems offensive to his patrons. . . .

There is evidence, too, that the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayor Corporation does not relish the mess into which the Hearst newsreel is dragging it. . . . We may shortly hear of the severance of business relations between Hearst and M-G-M. If this comes about, we may be sure that it will be on the initiative of M-G-M and not Mr. Hearst, for there is no richer plum in the industry than a distributing contract with the strongest distributing organization in the field. . . .

New York City. GEORGE WADE.

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Repression in Oklahoma

SIR: Thirteen men and women in Oklahoma City are in serious danger of being railroaded to the penitentiary on a charge of "threatening and intimidating a federal court." The case arises from the recent conviction of ten leaders of the unemployed who were sentenced under the federal sedition laws for leading a demonstration in front of the local F.E.R.A. office, in a trial notable for the terroristic methods used by the prosecution. . . .

In protest thousands of letters and cards deluged Federal Judge Edgar S. Vaught demanding the release of the prisoners. The Department of Justice retaliated by arresting thirteen more—not of those who had sent the cards and letters, but of those who had been active in the preparation of the defense. For example, the "crime" committed by Marshall Lakey, outstanding Oklahoma sculptor, was to offer to do a bust for the individual raising the most money for the defense. . . .

Funds are urgently needed and should be forwarded to the Oklahoma Defense Fund, International Labor Defense, Room 610, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City. Protests may be sent to Federal Judge Edgar S. Vaught and United States District Attorney W. C. Lewis, both at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and Attorney General Homer S. Cummings and President Roosevelt at Washington.

Oklahoma City, Okla. F. B. MAXHAN.

To Avoid Confusion

SIR: My name has been associated, in your columns in the recent past, with the American Workers' Party. On emerging from a long illness, I find that there is a widespread presumption, as a result, that I am a member and functionary of the Workers' Party of the United States, formed by a merger of the A.W.P. with the Communist League of America (Trotskyites).

This presumption is incorrect. I refused to serve as a functionary of the merged party and am not a member. I stand, as I have stood for years, for a positive revolutionary movement that can function in the American scene; and, therefore, logically, for a realistic attitude toward the Soviet Union, which amid difficulties is still carrying on high the banner of socialist construction.

Brooklyn, N. Y. LOUIS F. BUDENZ.

Was Veblen a Coward?

SIR: Quoting from the article you published on Veblen, May 15, 1935:

> Veblen can never be accused of cowardice. It would have been suicidal for him, desperately dependent as he was for a job upon the good will of Laughlin and the other academic moguls, to show too much warmth for Marxism. He was writing in the midst of a Red scare. No one who reads Mr. Dorfman's book, with its story of the bitterness of his life until he succeeded in getting some small academic foothold, can wonder that even when his own thought was closest to the Marxian categories he chose to clothe them in other terms.

This statement puzzles me greatly. I am wondering if in the first sentence the word "never" is not a typographical error? If the actions described do not constitute "cowardice," then will some one please tell me what is or could be cowardice in a college professor?

Pasadena, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR.

SIR: I fear I cannot be so austere as Mr. Sinclair. I do not call an action cowardly unless it represents a retreat from the essential issue. The essential thing with Veblen was not to support Marxism but to get across a point of view. This point of view was in some respects Marxian, in others far from Marxian. There was for Veblen no question of loyalty to a creed, and it would have been foolhardy for him to incur a martyrdom. The important thing was to dissect mercilessly the entire scheme of society and values under business enterprise. My point was that both by temperament and because of the position Veblen found himself in, he preferred to do this in non-Marxian terminology. If he had been concerned mainly to save his own skin, he could have done what the other college professors did: stifle every impulse toward criticism, and celebrate the glories of capitalist society and individualist business enterprise. The distinction I was trying to draw was between cowardice and protective coloration. It is a distinction that Mr. Sinclair, with his change from Socialist to EPIC terminology, should understand better than anyone else.

Scarsdale, N. Y. MAX LERNER.

No Offense Meant

SIR: My attention has been called to an article in The New Republic of June 5 entitled "N.R.A. Chiselers and Sculptors." In this article the term Sculptor is used to name a group of law evaders who apparently have nothing to do with the profession of sculpture. I respectfully ask you to order the discontinuance of this word "sculptor" as used in this sense in your publication, as a courtesy to the National Sculpture Society and to the profession of sculpture.

JOHN GREGORY,
New York City. President, National Sculpture Society.

Extracts from Letters

THE American-Russian Chamber of Commerce transmits a communication from the Amtorg Trading Corporation in New York City pointing out that Amtorg, with the exception of the All-Russian Textile Syndicate, Inc., is the sole representative of import and export organizations to the Soviet Union. Amtorg warns American business firms against dealing with alleged intermediaries, advisers and promotional agents who make false claims of having commercial connections in the Soviet Union.

Paul Vanorden Shaw writes to call attention to a summer school for American and Latin American students to be held at Panama City from July 7 to August 17. The school will consider cultural and historical subjects as well as social and economic relations between North and Latin America and is under the patronage of the Panamanian government. Inquiries may be addressed to Mr. John Van Dyke at the Bookstore, Columbia University, New York City, or to the Panamanian Consulate at 90 Broad Street, New York City.

The League for Industrial Democracy announces its twenty-first annual Summer Conference to be held at Northover Camp in the Watchung Hills near Bound Brook, New Jersey, from Friday, June 21, to Sunday, June 23, 1935. The Conference will discuss the general subject of white-collar and professional workers under capitalism and their relation to social change; and among the speakers scheduled to appear are Norman Thomas, Sidney Hook, Raymond Gram Swing, Colston E. Warne, B. Charney Vladeck, Arthur Livingston and Harry W. Laidler.

A committee of Americans sends a copy of a protest presented to the French Embassy at Washington asking for the release of Philippe Vernier, a twenty-six-year-old French clergyman who was imprisoned because of his conscientious refusal to perform military service. Under French law he is liable to imprisonment until he passes the upper age limit of the military classification at the age of fifty.

A committee of workers in Evanston, Illinois, sends in a proposal that the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, which was closed by the government in June, 1933, be reopened as a coöperative community for the unemployed. It is suggested that the Training Station be operated on the plan of the Danish Folk High Schools, utilizing the services of workers, craftsmen, teachers and members of the professions in an integration of culture with work and living. The committee suggests that the community might operate under the Committee on Self-Help of the F.E.R.A. and says that the project would be self-liquidating.

The Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York City, is planning a critical biography and a possible volume of selected letters of the late Edwin Arlington Robinson. The Company would be glad to hear from persons able to contribute letters or biographical data on the poet and assures such persons that all material will be carefully preserved and returned.

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Strange Shade

II

IN THE first section of this review I spoke of the difficulties involved today when Southerners want to write about the South: the problems met with in trying to convey a quality in culture, a way of living and feeling; the lack of any point of view in many Southern writers nowadays; their tendency to pick up some outside or generally public approach or cliché; their lack of comparative knowledge of other societies or of history; their failure to indicate what sort of reader they are writing for. The last point is to be noted. One may write for the world of men, as great artists have done, or for a definite public, or for Tom, Dick and Harry, hoping for the best, which often in our country means hoping for the most. I spoke also of the vulgar and misleading jacket for Cason's book,[1] which certain time-saving reviewers are sure to copy, and which though it may make the groundlings approve must make the judicious grieve, the censure of which one—who has not heard?—overweighs a whole theatre of others.

It could be said, in a sense, that only certain Southerners could understand Cason's book with regard to Cason himself. Readers in general are confronted first with this situation in which man after man is inwardly compelled to talk, however obliquely, about his own section of the country: to many of these Southerners the South is a personal matter, like one's own household. I did not on purpose say family, for various examples of these Southern writers have, in the traditional Southern sense, only through biological laws a family. (There must be people living, spiritually at least, shall we say in Times Square, to whom this passion of locality or section must seem a very odd thing indeed, but no need to go—an excursion of a few inches—into that.)

"90° in the Shade" is an unequal book. At one moment it is simple and creative, rendering truly what was to be created in order for us to understand what the author is talking about. At another it is struggling around with statistics, trying to show what the case is and what needs to be done or perceived. Many of these latter passages fail because, on the one hand, the writer can neither give them the hardness, drought or punch that more successful reform writers command, nor, on the other, can he root them in depths of living, in the creative currents that feed the life or region of which he writes.

Curiously enough, taking him as mere writer, disgorging and ambitious, and, naturally enough, taking him as a genuine and fine spirit, Cason's faults, or disadvantages, in this book are largely Southern. Some of it is overstated, through the journalist's impulse to be effective, to make lively reading. (Cason was a journalist and taught that department at the University of Alabama.) Shall we take the passages about fishing? "There is no escaping the conviction," he says, "that fishing in the South is pursued for its own sake, and not as a means of recuperation between business deals . . . it may be that ultimate truth lies in the spiritual attitude of the Southerners who are always going fishing." He then says that a person who has achieved an immunity from the everlasting inner demand that he improve upon his earthly position must possess an unusual degree of cosmic equilibrium. And then he speaks of the Northern preparation for European travel every spring, and of how in the South it is largely the school teachers on whom travel agencies may depend. "People of consequence in the South are satisfied to go fishing." No wonder such outsiders as are kind enough to be interested in us, apart from lynchings in county seats and sex episodes in fiction, are puzzled by the scene presented.

I grew up within a very few hundred miles of Mr. Cason's Alabama town—whose streams and fishes are not known to me—and though we had creeks and ponds, I never knew anybody except a few children and Negroes (devoted to catfish) who ever fished save on some annual hunting and fishing trip, and none too many then. The picture of the whole South leaving all for the fish does sound like some vivacious early myth; but I should have to leave it either as picturesque or sheer Alabama locale. Granting the fishing, however, the point about it should be made to mean more. The Southern side of Cason appears in his desire to be entertaining—you can put that down to vanity, kindly interest in the other person's comfort, a sense of social amenities or an instinct that what is dead is not anything at all. There are plenty of times when I can see in this book that the writer is trying to be pleasing, to evince the humor of a gentleman and to pour most gently indeed into the porches of our ears the leprous distilment. The courtesy, sweetness of nature and good manners of these discussions may happen to be lost on some of Cason's readers, who will think him superficial for not being dry and set, or weak, for not slapping boldly out, or mild for not going the whole sociological-interfering-reform hog. This limitation of Cason's is not an uncommon quality of the Southerner, who is as a social being not likely to hit straight from the shoulder, though as a mere physical being he will knock you down.

"90°in the Shade" deals with factories, lynchings, pulpits, politics and other aspects of the life presented. It is a defect of the book's discussion that the reader should get constantly the impression that the whole South is covered by "90° in the Shade." Infinite aspects of life outside Mr. Cason's regions are not even touched upon.

Among the more profound and creative passages in the book are those that without statistical intentions convey some true characteristic of Southern life. In the Foreword, for instance, we have that story of the visit that his father, who was a doctor, made to the poor family. The story tells of how his father, in a despairing effort to make some pretense that would delay the pain of his announcement, took two five-cent coins from his pocket, placed them over the eyelids of the dying child, and moved his fingers gently through the moist hair, and of how eight months later the child's father came in, after saving up to pay the two nickels back. The account of the little boy on his ride in the Pullman and the anxiety he felt lest the porter should fulfil what the boy had always heard, that a Negro porter would know quality when he saw them, is all exact and perfect. A whole history is in that account; and it sweetens with humanity and strengthens with dependability all Cason's discussion of the race problem in the South.

This is a book beautifully full of things not said, and empty of many things that are said. STARK YOUNG.

[1] 90° in the Shade, by Clarence Cason. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 186 pages. $2.50.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Two Kinds of Against

DESPITE superficial differences, E. E. Cummings' "No thanks" and Kenneth Fearing's "Poems"[1] have important ingredients in common. Both poets have an exceptional gift for the satirically picturesque. Both specialize in rhetorical devices that keep their pages vivacious almost to the extent of the feverish. Both are practised at suggesting the subjective through the objective. And both seem driven by attitudes for which there is no completely adequate remedy in the realm of the practical (with Cummings, a sense of isolation—with Fearing, an obsession with death).

Cummings has more range, which is not always a virtue in his case, as much of his wider scope is devoted to cryptic naughtiness of an immature sort, a somewhat infantile delight in the sexual parts, alembicated confessions that seem unnecessarily shy and coy (material which, I suspect, Cummings would have abandoned long before now, had he not discovered a few processes of stylistic chemistry for extracting the last bit of ore). And like the chronic invalid who comes to identify his doctor with his disease, hating them interchangeably, he is dissatisfied not only with the current political and economic texture, but also with the "famous fatheads" and "folks with missians" (vindictively misspelled) who would attempt its radical cure. Fearing can be buoyed up with the thought of a situation wherein "millions of voices become one voice" and "millions of hands . . . move as one." But Cummings sees the process from the other side, as he strikes at those "worshipping Same," says they "got athlete's mouth jumping on & off bandwaggons," and in not very loving verse lambastes the "kumrads" for being deficient in love.

But even a lone wolf cannot feel wholly content without allies. Hence, as with belligerent capitalist states, his occasional nondescript alliance with anyone who will serve (witness his scattering of somewhat shamefacedly anti-Semitic aphorisms, usually consigned to cryptogram, but still "nonsufficiently inunderstood"). As we read "No thanks" carefully, the following picture emerges: For delights, there is sexual dalliance, into which the poet sometimes reads cosmic implications (though a communicative emphasis is lacking). For politics, an abrupt willingness to let the whole thing go smash. For character building, the rigors of the proud and lonely, eventually crystallizing in rapt adulation of the single star, which is big, bright, deep, near, soft, calm, alone and holy—"Who (holy alone) holy (alone holy) alone."

Cummings' resistance to man-made institutions of any kind serves to stimulate a romantic sense of communion with nature (even the mercurial must have *some* locus of constancy); and the best work in the volume is unquestionably his natural description: the hush of snow falling or fallen; the solemn times when "emptied. hills. listen."; a bird in flight; the "mOOn Over tOwns mOOn"; rain that can "move deeply," with life and sex burgeoning in response; the bursting forth of a "white with madness wind" that tears "mountains from their sockets" and makes "writhing alive skies"; Poe's version of the jangling and tintinnabulation of the bells, bells, bells, brought up to date; the spread of "twilight's vastness"; and an elegiac piece, an account of the poet ascending a hill by the sea

> at dusk
> just when
> the Light is filled with birds—

a poem so intense, and so well sustained, that we greatly resent the few spots where his mannerisms threaten to undo the mood.

We might say that Cummings' biology is good, but his history is too bad. As historian, at the best he must niggle:

> little
> mr Big
> notbusy
> Busi
> ness notman.

And at the worst, he must attack in the lump:

> news alimony blackmail whathavewe
> and propaganda

—an attitude too non-negotiable for a society to run a going concern on.

Fearing's clearly formed philosophy of history gives his work much better coördination and direction as satire. Cummings the antinomian symbolizes refusal as the little boy that won't play. Fearing, the poet as politician, can offer a take-it-or-leave-it basis of collaboration, a platform, a communist set of values that makes for an unambiguous alignment of forces and a definite indication of purpose. He has a frame of reference by which to locate his satire. Whereas Cummings as satirist is driven by his historical amorphousness into *personal moods* as the last court of appeal, Fearing can attack with the big guns of a *social framework*. He can pronounce moral judgments; and remembering Juvenal or Swift we realize what an advantage this is, for any invective, implicit or explicit, is strongest when the inveigher is appealing to a rigorous code of likes and dislikes. Whereas both poets are alive to the discordant clutter about us, Cummings tends to be jumpy, shifty, look-for-me-here-and-you'll-find-me-there. (After reading him for an hour or so, I show the tetanic symptoms of a cocaine addict.) Fearing is better able to take on something of the heavy oratorical swell, which he manages by an exceptional fusion of ecclesiastic intonations (the lamentation) and contemporary cant (slang, business English, the imagery of pulp fiction, syndicated editorials and advertising).

An inverted Whitman, Fearing scans the country with a statistical eye; but where Whitman sought to pile up a dithyrambic catalogue of *glories*, Fearing gives us a satirically seasoned catalogue of *burdens*. Whitman, the humanitarian, could look upon a national real-estate boom and see there a mystical reaching out of hands. Fearing conversely would remark upon the "profitable smile," the "purpose that lay beneath the merchant's warmth." This method leads at times to the mechanical device of indictments held together by a slightly varied refrain, but for the most part the poet is as ingenious as he is sincere. I know of no better patent, for instance, than this way of saying (in "1933") that the official pronouncements are crooked

[1] No thanks, by E. E. Cummings. New York: The Golden Eagle Press. 80 pages. $2.

Poems, by Kenneth Fearing. Introduction by Edward Dahlberg. New York: The Dynamo Press. 62 pages. $1.

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and that the organization to reënforce the crookedness is terrifyingly efficient:

You heard the gentleman, with automatic precision,
speak the truth.
Cheers. Triumph.
And then mechanically it followed the gentleman lied.
Deafening applause. Flashlights, cameras, microphones.
Floral tribute. Cheers.

His "Dirge" to the average man winds up superbly by the use of slang interjections:

And wow he died as wow he lived,
going whop to the office and blooie home to sleep and
biff got married and bam had children and oof got
fired,
zowie did he live and zowie did he die . . .

It is harder in limited space to illustrate Fearing than Cummings, as Fearing does not get his effects so succinctly. But I might give one more instance of his skill. Readers will recall the often cited remark of Eliot's wherein he characterizes his "general point of view" as "classicist in literature, royalist in politics and anglo-catholic in religion." One may greatly respect Eliot for his important attainments, and still enjoy the deftness of Fearing's reference to

That genius, that litterateur, Theodore True,
St. Louis boy who made good as an Englishman in
theory, a deacon in vaudeville, a cipher in politics,
undesirable in large numbers in any community.

Through the volume, Fearing's discerning hatred of all that the "fetishism of commodities" has done for us, as regards the somewhat prospering as well as the destitute, is brilliantly conveyed, along with a quality of reverie, of fears and yearnings that delve far deeper than the contemporary.

KENNETH BURKE.

Both Monologues

Grandsons, by Louis Adamic. New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

Talk United States! by Robert Whitcomb. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. $2.

THE THEME of Mr. Louis Adamic's first novel is implied by a question one of his characters asks: "What does it mean to anybody to be an American, part of America?" Less directly stated, the same problem dominates Robert Whitcomb's "Talk United States!" which is a fictionalized autobiography of an "average" American workman, written in a harsh and jaunty language presumably intended to reproduce the flavor of common American speech. In a curious way the two books have much in common. Both are written from what may be called a radical nationalist point of view; both reveal a preoccupation, on the part of their authors, with America as a geographic entity; both seek to isolate and give significance to specifically American beliefs, practices, characteristics, habits of speech; both are packed with incidental observations and opinions that seem to refer, not to the immediate predicaments of the characters, but to prevailing controversies in the intellectual world not expounded in the texts.

"Grandsons" is much the more ambitious, a recapitulation and revision, in a more detailed form, of some of the points Mr. Adamic sought to establish in his autobiography, "Laughing in the Jungle." It begins with the author's account of his meeting, during the War, with a fellow Slovenian, Peter Gale, and with the development of their interrupted relationship after the Armistice. Very slowly the author accumulated information about his character, rather than understanding of him, and between careful expositions of his own intellectual position, he records his impressions of Peter Gale, whose nervousness, standard of living, incoherently expressed ideas and ambitions and unwritten stories seem to have equal importance to him. The vague revelations that Peter drops, as well as his sudden hysterical breakdown in the midst of a casual conversation, excite the author, since he finds in them a kind of confirmation for his own theory that America is a land of shadow-people: "They were shadows flitting over the face of this beautiful continent. Shadows of what human life could be. Shadows of one another. . . . They were hardly alive. There was little life, real, dynamic human life, in America. Only a sort of nervous, furious, superficial existingness."

Seen from this angle, the revelation that Peter's grandfather died in the Haymarket riot, or that his brother is a well known gangster, his cousin a member of the I.W.W., take on a cryptic significance, even though the story never leaves Mr. Adamic's study, where Peter, in talks that last all night, describes his intellectual development and his emotional growth. Later the author catches a brief glimpse of Peter's brother, who is shot, and of his cousin, who is jailed; he reads Peter's notes for his unwritten novel. The last part of the book is an account of Mr. Adamic's literary career, with Peter only reappearing shortly before his death, when it develops that after his nervous breakdown he had forgotten his real identity and assumed that of a steel worker. It would be difficult to find another work of fiction in which so much of the action takes place off-stage, and at times it becomes difficult for a reader to say whether Mr. Adamic has written a novel or a long, exact account of the precise character of his inability to write one.

The story of Matt Williams, in "Talk United States!" is more direct, although in it too the action is summarized and generalized, and the decisive conflicts that the characters face are sacrificed for what James has called "a feast of irrelevancies." Most of these irrelevancies spring from the author's interest in the picturesque elements in working-class life—the stilted and exaggerated slang found in certain groups, of simple pastimes, the home-brew making, the love of sentimental songs, the crude opinions—which are described good-naturedly, at length, and at the expense of the vital conflicts that lurk sullenly beneath them. At its best, in its mocking exposure of Matt Williams' ignorance and his candid vulgarity, the book is a kind of "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" of the American working class, with its humor and its social implications springing from the contrast between Williams' observed unconsciousness of his limitations and the deeper understanding of the reader. Yet even in terms of this approach there seems a basic disproportion in an attitude that permits an author to dismiss, in a few pages, a conflict that means the disruption of his character's family while chapters are devoted to a catalogue of the jobs he has held and the places he has seen—the necessity to "talk United States" must be urgent indeed to justify the amputation of so much of human life.

As expressions of the new nationalism, both "Grandsons" and "Talk United States!" fail to answer the questions they raise, but as warnings against the danger of sacrificing characters for the sake of an argument they serve as valuable documents, as contributions less to fiction than to the feverish intellectual conflicts that rise so stridently during these pre-war years.

ROBERT CANTWELL.

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Bergson on Instinct

The Two Sources of Morality and Religion, by Henri Bergson. Translated by R. Ashley Audra and Cloudesley Brereton. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 308 pages. $3.

IN THIS volume, M. Bergson goes back to the theme of the vital impetus *(élan vital)* that he developed in its relations to biology and philosophy in his "Creative Evolution." In the present volume, this conception is used to interpret the phenomena of morals and religion. To readers who are aware of the distinction M. Bergson makes between the two polar manifestations of the push of life—namely, instinct and intelligence—the reference in the title to *two* sources will already be suggestive. But M. Bergson is accustomed, in dealing with a subject, to soak himself thoroughly in all relevant literature, so that the interpretation he gives of two types of morals and two types of religion is far from being a mechanical application of preformed ideas.

He gives in this book (though not in the opening chapter) a resumé of his conception of life as a moving force; and a brief account of this basic conception is the best introduction to the book before us. Life is inherently a simple integral act, forever pushing onward to new forms. Its operations supply us with the key, and the only key we can command, to understanding life, mind and society. Life operates both with and against recalcitrant matter—which ultimately, though not proximately, may be traced to residua of the *past* creative action of life. Being past, this matter offers resistance to the new creative ventures of the same force that created it. It is as conservative in function as the vital impetus is radical.

Life-movement has two methods of dealing with the matter that confronts it: one is the way of instinct, the other that of intelligence. Evolution, the record of the action of life, is not a one-way process. In insect communities, life carries to virtual exhaustion the method of instinct. In the vertebrates, especially in man, the evolutionary force is itself freed, but, for the most part, in the direction of intelligence. There remains, however, a penumbra of instinct that is capable of becoming an intuition, penetrating directly into the movement of life itself. Intelligence as such is fabricative of matter through the invention and use of tools, which do for man what organic structures do for insects. Moreover, among insects, the social phase of the vital impetus is carried to such a height that the individual is completely subordinated to the group. Intelligence, on the other hand, works through initiative and invention—through, that is to say, the liberation of individuals from socially instituted organizations.

Consequently, from the standpoint of existing social organization—which is to man what the operations of social instincts are to bees and ants—intelligence threatens dissolution in some respect. Moreover, its exercise is dangerous. It brings foresight, and foresight imports inquietude, and inquietude brings in turn a slackening of attachment to life—a slackening that is harmful both individually and socially. One source of religion is a protest, coming from the depths of life itself, to this dissolvent and potentially dangerous action of individual intelligence. In behalf of its own persistence, especially upon the side of its social manifestation, the revolt creates myths, ghosts of experience. The author illustrates with some particularity from the idea of death—which is not found among animals. Intelligence perceives its inevitability. The automatic reaction of life against the uncertainty and "slackening" that result is the building of theories about perpetuation of life in spite of death. If we generalize on this subject, we arrive at the thesis laid down by M. Bergson: "Religion is a defensive reaction of nature against the dissolvent power of intelligence."

But religions generated in this way determine one type of religion. There is another "source." A generative means of much higher type is found in the intuition, of which some individuals are capable, of the life impetus itself. Such intuitions characterize the mystic experiences that are the ground for everything the founders and prophetic renovators of religion do and say. Since these individuals penetrate the immediate ongoing of life, the ultimate reality, their experiences are as veridical as the outgivings of the other (socially useful) types of religion are mythical.

M. Bergson follows this reasoning with an interesting historical account in which the defects of all mysticism that is Greek in origin are traced to the opposition set up between contemplation and action, since true mystic contemplation is intrinsically a fountainhead of active energy. The defects of Indian mysticism are found in its pessimistic accompaniments, which made Nirvana the goal; while true mysticism, as expressed in Christian mystics, flows into "action, creation, love." The social phase of the life impetus, when it is freed from encumbrances, is expressed in love; the identification of it with life as ultimate is the meaning of God. When thus freed, it is no longer concerned with the preservation of institutional forms; while at the same time it is not attended with the danger found in the dissolving intellect, for love is a creative and constructive force. Mysticism, however, has to use the language and meanings that are current, and therefore soon assumes a diluted and adulterated form.

I have left no space to speak of the application of the leading ideas to morals, beyond saying that there also M. Bergson recognizes two modes, the closed and the open. The former is that of social pressure and conformity, corresponding to, though not identical with, the work of instinct among the insects. The latter is the morality of free individuals who have penetrated to the life-current that is below both instinct and intelligence. Incidentally, in the course of this discussion, M. Bergson makes a just and successful criticism of the notion that the source of obligation is rational, showing how, after social pressure has created it, the mind finds rational support for it

Any adequate appraisal of the merits of M. Bergson's interpretations would involve a consideration of his basic philosophy, and that is out of the question here. I imagine, however, that ordinary readers, even cultivated readers, will not trouble themselves much about the philosophical foundations. They will be moved by the esthetic charm of the presentation, which time has not dimmed; by the air of freedom and release that permeates the discussion, and, if they are wise, by the incidental discussion of many points regarding the anthropological material of myths, magic and spirits. One who finds nothing sound in the philosophical foundations may nevertheless learn a great deal from Bergson's clear and informed discussion of these matters.

To engage briefly in adverse criticism, I should say that instinct plays such manifold roles in M. Bergson's system as to arouse suspicion. There is no difficulty in which it cannot be appealed to There is a kind of instinct that creates social organization among insects, and something closely allied to it that creates closed morality, that reacts defensively against intellect in man—and that yet is capable of being translated into mystic as well as philosophic in-

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tuition. Now intuition and its manifestations are things not to be checked by logic; indeed by its nature intuition is opposed to intelligence and logic. When the immediate charm of M. Bergson's expression has waned, a reader is compelled to ask himself whether an organ that by definition is susceptible of no control beyond itself is a safe guide. Fundamentalists will surely protest against the antinomian tendencies inherent in the exposition of mystic religion and open morals. Others who have nothing in common with fundamentalists will wonder whether such a heavy burden has not been thrown upon "intuition" that they will have to be content to plod along with the aid of intelligence alone.

Both the author and the public are to be congratulated upon the literary skill with which the translation has been done. One who has read M. Bergson's writings in the original, or has heard him speak, will hardly be conscious that the book is a translation. One seems to catch his very accent and the modulation of his rhythms.

JOHN DEWEY.

Muscle Men

Deliver Us from Dictators! by Robert C. Brooks. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 257 pages. $2.50.

MR. BROOKS'S study of dictatorship is intelligent and well informed—within his chosen limits. He confines his study to personal dictatorships; class dictatorship is not in his line. He studies the acts and methods of Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler, and he finds them practically identical. They disdain democracy, they depend on brute force and their own kind of propaganda, they suppress all opposition parties and all criticism of their policies.

To be sure, on occasion Mr. Brooks is obliged to acknowledge that Russia—unlike Italy and Germany—has undergone a social revolution and that in the initial stages of such a revolution, toleration of opposing parties would be invitation to counter-revolution; that under the Soviet regime there has been a great advance in education and in the position of women; that the Soviet Union, though "reactionary in politics," is radical in economics, while the fascist dictatorships are not only reactionary in politics, but also "conservative, if not reactionary, in economics"; that under tsarism the Russians had never learned the methods of democracy, whereas in Germany and Italy fascism supplanted democracy. These differences, however, are only occasionally recalled by Mr. Brooks; in general, they are ignored. But if the Soviet Union continues to progress in economic achievement, in education, in raising the position of women, is it not clear that the conditions are being created in which personal dictatorship becomes ever more difficult to maintain, if indeed (given international peace) it does not become entirely impossible?

Toward the close of his book, Mr. Brooks examines the prospects of fascism in the United States. The present situation he does not find alarming, but a continuance of the depression might conceivably give rise to greater stresses and strains than our traditional political system can cope with. In this connection he utters a solemn warning to would-be fascists. They favor fascism in order to avoid making necessary concessions to the hungry masses; yet by introducing fascism they might hasten the coming of a communist revolution that would deal much more severely with them than any policy of concession and reform.

HERMAN SIMPSON.

The Humanity of Mann

Young Joseph, by Thomas Mann. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

THIS SECOND volume of Mann's work in progress develops the theme of "pious irony"—to use Kenneth Burke's characterization of "Joseph and His Brothers." Mann has chosen a mythical setting and has given his characters a more than historical meaning. His present work is pointed downwards, toward the pastoral and the unconscious: it is another Magic Mountain, seen from the reverse end of the telescope. It contains Mann's pious homage to the sources of man's being, seen in eternal patterns.

The first volume dealt with the patriarchal world of Jacob. This book is concerned with the world of Jacob's sons. Under Mann's treatment, the children become representative of two basic categories. The older sons are peasants, hard realists with an elemental sense of communal activity, whereas Joseph is a dreamer, a man of letters. While his brothers are together, working in the fields, Joseph wanders about alone and studies the mystery of numbers. And Jacob quietly approves. He goes farther, he really favors the beautiful son of his beloved Rachel and presents Joseph with the coat of many colors. This angers the older brothers, long distrustful of Joseph's seeming arrogance and, in a burst of primitive rage, they throw Joseph into the pit and sell him to the Midianites. As Joseph lies alone in the pit, he begins to realize the human basis for the brothers' actions. He is awakened to an understanding and sympathy for others. The individualist acquires a group-sense.

Mann's novel contains dark, hidden, almost impenetrable depths. And yet, we find that it continues Mann's theme—

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repeated from "The Buddenbrooks" to "The Magic Mountain"—of the bourgeois artist's dilemma. Joseph's peasant brothers take their place beside the simple and uncomplicated, beside Toni of "The Buddenbrooks," Hans of "Tonio Kroeger," Kloeterjahn of "Tristan," "Ziemssen of "The Magic Mountain." And young Joseph is in the temper of Hanno, Tonio, Spinell, Castorp, who live in magic spheres. Now, at the end of this volume, Joseph descends, even as Castorp did; he is now ready for the third stage, for social activity—Egypt.

"Young Joseph" is a fundamental effort. It tells, in a mythical form, of man's development from nature (the primitive communal life of Jacob's older sons) to an individualistic culture (young Joseph), and on towards a higher nature (presumably concluded in Joseph's socially useful work in Egypt). Joseph himself appears as the carrier of human ideals and desires. The human way, for Mann, is the liberal way that resolves opposites, not by destruction, but by assimilation. Joseph is the promise of a dialectical fusion between beauty and learning, magic and causality, art and society. The author is suggesting that such development is a recurrent characteristic of man's history. The biblical story is the story of man. And this novel pays reverence to the ever repeated cycle; the choice of theme is in itself such tribute.

Mann does not invent a story; he tells one that is already known. And he tells it in a language that is profoundly pious. One feels that he is writing of the basically human, of that which we all know, yet which is not quite expressible. The lonely cries of Joseph in the pit and the grief of the aged Jacob have about them a mark of inevitability and finality that seems a summation of human pain and despair. They tell of tragedy. Although the account is detailed, the total effect is that of a story of half-words, of silence and timelessness. Mann's present work is far removed from his rousing "Demands of the Hour," written during the pre-Hitlerite years. In a time of a disintegrating social order, a great and older writer points to those formulas, bearing on death and inescapable suffering, which suggest the mystical phenomena of eternal recurrence.

HARRY SLOCHOWER.

China's Art

China Magnificent: Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art, by Dagny Carter. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. A John Day book. 225 pages. $4.

WITHOUT doubt the magnificence of China is to be found in her works of art rather than in the other achievements of her people. These works are products of a tradition that had its beginnings as far back as the stone age and had attained to a high degree of development by the twelfth century B.C. Mrs. Carter's book is both a history of that art in the several fields of painting, sculpture, metal working, pottery, etc., and an analysis of its products as an expression of the soul of the Chinese people, reflecting their superstitions, religious beliefs, social customs and political conditions. It is a very large subject, but her treatment of its varied phases and implications has resulted in a book that it would be difficult to overpraise. Her comprehensive survey is a result not merely of her own investigations and judgment, but of the work of eminent specialists, whose views in their respective fields are regarded as authoritative.

The information given is fully up-to-date. What adds materially to its dependability is the care with which dog-

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matic statements have been avoided, and with which the difficulties making it virtually impossible in most cases to determine whether old-time paintings are originals or copies, have been pointed out. Extensive descriptions of particular works, even of some of the great ones produced during the T'ang and Sung eras, are beyond the scope of a small volume, but numerous illustrations furnish the needed aid for the reader, and give an idea of some of the most important works in a few of the private collections as well as in the museums of America, Europe and China. There is a helpful bibliography of books by specialists, conveniently grouped in relation to the several chapters. Strangely, however, it does not include one of the most important, the illustrated catalogue of the great Sumitomo collection of Chinese bronzes.

FREDERICK W. GOOKIN.

Books in Brief

Voluntary Sterilization, by C. P. Blacker. New York: The Oxford University Press. 145 pages. $1.75.

IN HIS Conway Memorial Lecture for 1934, Hyman Levy sharply criticized "positive demands for legislative action" favoring sterilization. "With the present state of knowledge on [genetic] matters," he said, such demands "can reflect little more than the class bias of those who press for them." In "Voluntary Sterilization" the General Secretary of the (British) Eugenics Society presents us with a temperate and well informed contribution to our knowledge of at least the social, political and legal aspects of "negative eugenics" of this character. This book is devoted chiefly to an analysis of the Brock Committee Report issued in 1934, in the course of which a great deal is said regarding the history of sterilization, hereditary defects and diseases, the fertility of the defective and the "social problem" group (if "social," the reader may ask, what has biology to do with it?), sterilization in other countries, voluntary versus compulsory sterilization, safeguards against abuses and objections to the practice. An appendix summarizing some of the more recent technical investigations in this field adds to the value of a book whose subject matter is still much too controversial to permit of final judgment, let alone legal action. H. W.

The Reichstag Fire Trial. Based on material collected by the World Committee for the Relief of the Victims of German Fascism. New York: Anti-Nazi Federation. 362 pages. $2.50.

Coming as it does after a whole library of books on the Reichstag fire, this "Second Brown Book of the Hitler Terror" may seem to the reading public a superfluous undertaking. Actually, it is a dignified volume containing a great deal less of propaganda than one might reasonably expect. The documentary material it presents is not only valuable and authentic but interesting in every instance, the story of the fire serving merely as the grandiose background for a graphic presentation of an inhuman and mechanical terror. In a brief introductory remark to the chapter on "Murder in Hitler Germany," Lion Feuchtwanger strikes the keynote of the whole work in two uncompromising sentences: "The principles upon which National Socialism is based are force and lies. Force and lies are not only means used for the achievement of its ends, but are themselves constituent parts of the organism of National Socialism." Proof of the truth of this unsparing indictment

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can be found in the chapter on "Who Burned the Reichstag?" which presented the conflicting testimony of the state's own witnesses in the Leipzig trial in damaging juxtaposition. An authentic list of the names of 747 men and women murdered for their political or social convictions since the beginning of Hitler's regime closes this careful compilation of anti-Nazi evidence. L. L.

Jungle, by Ferreira de Castro. Translated from the Portuguese by Charles Duff. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

Along the Amazon the jungle rules all. Here, some of the more horrible dreams of an H. G. Wells come to life in a nightmare of fecundity, where plants and men serve as hosts for clouds of parasites. The human beings in this book, the rubber-tappers and the plantation owner, are merely another struggling species. Drawn to the Amazon by the fable of black gold, the tappers are exploited and enslaved by the owner. Among them is a former law student, an exile from Portugal. At the time of his entrance into the jungle, he feels himself immeasurably apart from and above these workers. His experience there proves otherwise. The upper classes are not all-noble; on the other hand, even the poor Negro and Mulatto tappers are human. Señor de Castro's plot, as well as the moral expressed by his student, suffer from the weakness of characters who speak with the slightly inadequate voice of the English translator. But however inept their speech, these people almost always act convincingly. The business of rubber collecting in Brazil is interestingly and fairly described; more than that, "Jungle" has the point and the purpose of a novel; it is implicitly an interpretation of life.

I. L.

Contributors

W. T. Stone is in charge of the Washington Bureau of the Foreign Policy Association and has written on international affairs for various magazines.

Conrad Aiken is a Pulitzer prize-winner and has published several novels, including "Blue Voyage" and "Great Circle," and books of short stories, the latest of which was titled "Among the Lost People."

Kenneth Burke is writing The New Republic's lead review during the absence of Malcolm Cowley who is on vacation. Mr. Burke's most recent book was "Permanence and Change," which was published as a New Republic Dollar book, and he is now doing research for another. He is one of the Guggenheim fellows for 1935-36.

Robert Cantwell, the author of "Laugh and Lie Down" and "The Land of Plenty," has recently returned to New York from a trip to California. He has been making a study of what the working class reads.

John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and educator, is preparing a book about the theory of logic. His most recently published books are "Art as Experience" and "A Common Faith."

Herman Simpson is a student of Marxist theory who has written for a number of magazines. He was one of the editors of the Socialist daily, The New York Call.

Harry Slochower has studied German literature in Europe on a Guggenheim fellowship. He teaches at Long Island University.

Frederick W. Gookin, originally a banker, has for years been an authority on Far Eastern art and is now Curator of the Buckingham prints in the Art Institute of Chicago.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Harold Ward, Ludwig Lore and Isabel Lewis.

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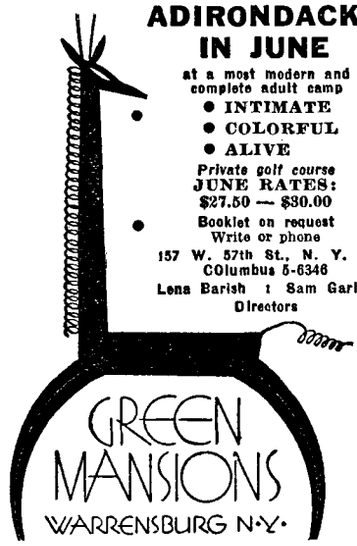

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